

249293

JPRS-SSA-84-076

3 July 1984

# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

19990811 151

**FBIS**

**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

REPRODUCED BY  
**NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE**  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

6  
143  
A07

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

3 July 1984

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## ANGOLA

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Briton Describes Ordeal in Bush as UNITA Hostage<br>(THE STAR, 28 May 84) .....         | 1 |
| Jamba, Unita's Chief Settlement, Described<br>(THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 5 Jun 84) ..... | 5 |

## BOTSWANA

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Caltex Gas Bottling Plant Key Pointer To Economic Growth<br>(BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS, 18 May 84) ..... | 7  |
| Agricultural Minister on Drought Program<br>(BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS, 17 May 84) .....                 | 8  |
| Jwaneng Mine Produces More Diamonds<br>(BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS, 28 May 84) .....                      | 9  |
| Maun, Shorobe Said To Be Promising Agricultural Areas<br>(BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS, 21 May 84) .....    | 10 |
| Trans-Kalahari Railway Route Decided<br>(BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS, 21 May 84) .....                     | 11 |

## COMORO ISLANDS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Future of Mayotte Examined<br>(LE MONDE, 6-7, 8 May 84) .....  | 12 |
| President Abdallah's Peaceful Campaign, by Jacques de Barrin<br>President Says Mayotte Part of Comoros, Ahmed Abdallah<br>Abderrahmane Interview<br>Advantages of Remaining French, by Jacques de Barrin |    |

## GUINEA

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Minister Reports on Conference of Nonaligned Nations<br>(Mamadou Baldet Interview; HOROYA, 24 May 84) ..... | 21 |
|---|----|

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Problems in Foreign Trade Sector Analyzed<br>(M. Oumar Khebet Interview; HOROYA, 29 May 84) .....                     | 24 |
| Role of Small, Medium Enterprises in National Development<br>(Mamadou Pathé Barry Interview; HOROYA, 17 May 84) ..... | 28 |
| <b>MALAWI</b>   |    |
| Leaders Comment on Party Membership, Use of Funds<br>(Blantyre Domestic Service, 5 Jun 84) .....                      | 32 |
| <b>Briefs</b>   |    |
| Short-Term Investors Criticized   | 33 |
| Transport Agreement With SA   | 33 |
| No MNR Base   | 33 |
| <b>MAURITIUS</b>  |    |
| Foreign Affairs Minister Gayan Interviewed<br>(LE MAURICIEN, 4 May 84) .....  | 34 |
| <b>MOZAMBIQUE</b>   |    |
| Commentator Sees Country Ready To Receive Foreign Investment<br>(Benjamin Pogrund; RAND DAILY MAIL, 5 Jun 84) .....   | 43 |
| Intense Preparation Needed To Receive South African Tourists<br>(RAND DAILY MAIL, 5 Jun 84) .....                     | 45 |
| Additional Irrigation To Increase Green Zone Production<br>(Paulo Maduco; DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 18 May 84) .....      | 47 |
| Transport, Electrical Equipment Shipped to Cabo Delgado<br>(Paulo Maduco; DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 15 May 84) .....      | 49 |
| Shrimp Storage Facility in Beira Completed<br>(Arsenio Cruz; DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, 18 May 84) .....                   | 51 |
| <b>Briefs</b>   |    |
| Construction Materials  | 52 |
| Rice-Hulling Factory  | 52 |
| Male River Bridge   | 52 |
| <b>NAMIBIA</b>  |    |
| Analysis of War Situation; Lusaka Agreements Discussed<br>(Michel Bole-Richard; LE MONDE, 11 May 84) .....            | 53 |
| Editor of Periodical: SA Holds Whiphand<br>(Jean Sutherland; THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 29 May 84) .....                | 56 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Fishing Areas Said Plundered by South Africa, Others<br>(Richard Moorsom; AFRICA NOW, No 38, Jun 84) ..... | 58 |
| Diamond Prospecting Said Encouraging<br>(THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER, 4 Jun 84) .....                          | 61 |
| Swapo Puts Up Fight for Prestige<br>(THE CITIZEN, 9 Jun 84) .....  | 62 |
| <b>Briefs</b>  |    |
| Tension Reported in Swartland  | 63 |

#### NIGERIA

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Muslims Reportedly Given Bad Name by Maitatsines<br>(ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW, No 33, May 84) ..... | 64 |
| <b>Briefs</b>   |    |
| 966 Laid Off  | 66 |
| Flour Production Below Demand   | 66 |
| Majority of Soldiers Literate   | 66 |
| New Petroleum, Energy Policy  | 67 |

#### SOUTH AFRICA

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Provincial, Local Government Under New Dispensation<br>(Hilary Venables; THE CAPE TIMES, 26 May 84) ..... | 68 |
| Succession of Botha as Party Leader Mooted<br>(Leon Marshall; THE STAR, 4 Jun 84) .....                   | 69 |
| Government's Willingness, Ability To Implement Reform Challenged<br>(Jean Hey; THE STAR, 30 May 84) ..... | 71 |
| NIC President on Opposition to New Constitution<br>(George Sewpershad; SUNDAY TIMES, 27 May 84) .....     | 73 |
| Rationalization of Chrome Interest Announced<br>(D. de Kock; THE CITIZEN, 5 Jun 84) .....                 | 75 |
| Sale of Netherlands Crude Blocked<br>(THE CITIZEN, 9 Jun 84) .....  | 76 |
| Government Repression, Rightwing Terrorism Deplored<br>(Jonty Joffe; RAND DAILY MAIL, 31 May 84) .....    | 77 |
| Economics of Accord With Mozambique Considered<br>(Benjamin Pogrund; RAND DAILY MAIL, 6 Jun 84) .....     | 79 |
| NIC Accused of Playing Negative, Destructive Game<br>(Sadiq Alli; THE GRAPHIC, 1 Jun 84) .....            | 81 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Options of Indian Voters Aired<br>(Editorial; THE GRAPHIC, 1 Jun 84) .....                             | 83  |
| AECI Gears Up for Explosives Industry Competition<br>(Peter Farley; THE STAR, 4 Jun 84) .....          | 85  |
| Tutu's Son Sues Government Over Unlawful Detention<br>(John Mojapelo; RAND DAILY MAIL, 8 Jun 84) ..... | 87  |
| Unrest, Crisis Plague Black Education<br>(Barend du Plessis Interview; RAND DAILY MAIL, 8 Jun 84)      | 88  |
| Computer Industry Warned of Labor Unrest Threat<br>(Mike Jensen; RAND DAILY MAIL, 4 Jun 84) .....      | 91  |
| Electronics Industry Boom Reported<br>(RAND DAILY MAIL, 5 Jun 84) .....                                | 92  |
| Comparative Position of Trade Unions Examined<br>(Angus Macmillan; SUNDAY TIMES, 20 May 84) .....      | 93  |
| Industrial Unrest Triggered by Firings<br>(Angus Macmillan; SUNDAY TIMES, 27 May 84) .....             | 94  |
| Establishment of Independent Black Press Urged<br>(SOWETAN, 6 Jun 84) .....                            | 96  |
| Maize Farmers Lost Millions in Romanian Urea Swap<br>(Gerald Reilly; RAND DAILY MAIL, 29 May 84) ..... | 97  |
| Drought Brings Hunger, Death to Gazankulu<br>(Sophie Tema; RAND DAILY MAIL, 28 May 84) .....           | 98  |
| Acid Rain Destruction Increases<br>(James Clarke; THE STAR, 30 May 84) .....                           | 99  |
| Exports to Israel Increase<br>(THE STAR, 30 May 84) .....  | 100 |
| Altech Poised for Expansion Into Fibre Optics<br>(Peter Farley; THE STAR, 5 Jun 84) .....              | 101 |
| Deklerk's 'Second Revolution' Reviewed<br>(SUNDAY TIMES, 20 May 84; RAND DAILY MAIL, 8 Jun 84) ....    | 102 |
| By Tertius Myburgh   |     |
| By Hermann Giliomee  |     |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Tribal Strife Rocks Umbumbulu<br>(SOWETAN, 7, 6 Jun 84; RAND DAILY MAIL, 8 Jun 84) .....           | 106 |
| Thousands Flee<br>Clan Vendettas<br>Law and Order Fails, Editorial                                 |     |
| Research, Development Expenditures Reported<br>(Gavan O'Connor; THE STAR, 7 Jun 84) .....          | 109 |
| Details of Defense White Paper Reported<br>(AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, 23 May 84) .....                  | 110 |
| Government Comments on Production of Off-Shore Gas<br>(Bert van Hees; THE CITIZEN, 9 Jun 84) ..... | 111 |
| Church Accused of Promoting Racial Oppression<br>(Kanthan Pillay; POST NATAL, 23-26 May 84) .....  | 112 |
| Sofasonke Party Sues Bophuthatswana<br>(Sam Mabe; SOWETAN, 6 Jun 84) .....                         | 114 |
| Reddy Backs Tugela Basin Development<br>(D. S. Rajah; THE GRAPHIC, 1 Jun 84) .....                 | 115 |
| Naidoo Explains Solidarity Aims, Qualifications<br>(M. S. Naidoo; THE GRAPHIC, 1 Jun 84) .....     | 116 |
| Police Harassment of AZAPO, NIC Rapped<br>(Editorial; THE GRAPHIC, 25 May 84) .....                | 118 |
| History of NIC Reviewed<br>(Sadiq Alli; THE GRAPHIC, 25 May 84) .....                              | 120 |
| Solidarity Official on Party Goals<br>(Ismail Omar Interview; THE GRAPHIC, 18 May 84) .....        | 122 |
| Businessmen Warned on Trade With Maputo<br>(THE CITIZEN, 5, 9 Jun 84) .....                        | 125 |
| Infrastructure Destroyed<br>Allegation 'Harmful'   |     |
| Strategic Importance of Walvis Bay Noted<br>(Michel Bole-Richard; LE MONDE, 3-4 Jun 84) .....      | 127 |
| <b>Briefs</b>  |     |
| Asbestos Levels  | 130 |
| Farm, Industry Research  | 130 |
| Nelspruit Budget   | 130 |

|                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Merhold Expansion          | 131 |
| Westbury Housing           | 131 |
| Students' Release Sought   | 131 |
| Khayelitsha Housing        | 131 |
| Transkei Railway Links     | 132 |
| Bop Elections              | 132 |
| Crossroads Residents       | 132 |
| Indians Join Labor Party   | 132 |
| Voter Registration Figures | 133 |
| SAIC Members               | 133 |

**ZAIRE**

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Long Run Possibility of Coup Suggested<br>(AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL, No 11, 23 May 84) ..... | 134 |
|---|-----|

BRITON DESCRIBES ORDEAL IN BUSH AS UNITA HOSTAGE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 May 84 p 12

[Text] Part I **One quiet night in February, Ian Smythe, a 27-year-old British metallurgist working on a diamond mine in Kafunfo, Angola, was taken hostage by Unita soldiers. With 77 others, he was marched 500 km across some of the most dangerous terrain in Africa. He kept a diary of his 81 days in captivity which captures the despair and anguish of the innocent captives and describes the conditions under which they were kept. This is the first in a two-part series, as told to TIM PATTEN of The Star's London Bureau.**

**Day one:**

**Thursday February 23:**

It was 4.55 am. I was awoken by the sound of mortar and large calibre gunfire all around us. It sounded like ping-pong balls on the side of the wall. It was obvious that this was an attack.

I leapt out of bed, grabbed my trousers and knocked on my friend's door. He was obviously as worried as I was. We both lay on the floor getting as much solid structure as possible between us and the gunfire.

Noise was all around us and we could hear fragments of concrete falling. Suddenly there was a large explosion outside and two bullets shattered the front door.

After 10 minutes we heard someone breaking down the front door. My friend and I looked at each other and the fear was in our faces. Three Unita soldiers burst through the door and found us cowering in a corner.

They said: 'Somos Unita (we are

Unita)." At which I jumped up, shook their hands to show friendship and said: "Bom dia (good morning)."

Their urgency was obvious but we managed to grab a few items of clothing before being herded out. There we saw other hostages being rounded up. They told us nothing and we had no idea what was in store for us.

It was then we learnt that at least two Filipinos had died in the shooting while others were injured. It occurred to us that we were being rounded up by a gang of gunmen and were being huddled against a house.

A thousand thoughts were going through our minds but only one was concerning us — were we to be shot?

We were relieved when they started moving us out of town and it seemed they wanted us to move as fast as possible. As we left there was sporadic gunfire — from whom we couldn't tell.

While being led away we were passed by a group of jogging Unita women, singing, jeering and chanting

---

**'A thousand thoughts  
were going through our  
minds but only one was  
of chief concern to us  
— were we to be shot?'**

---

with enormous packs of looted food on their backs.

By 7.30 am we were well on our way into the bush, but had no idea where we were headed.

We heard explosions and saw the dust from the direction of the diamond sorting house. (We heard later that the building had been razed and wondered if they had got the diamonds. Much later we learned they had missed R2 million worth in the safe).

During the morning we passed where the Unita troops had obviously camped the night before. Then they decided to send back all the Angolan mineworkers, leaving only the Angolan wife of a Portuguese electrician and her two daughters (Much later one of the Unita troopers wanted to marry one of the daughters).

At noon we stopped and it was really the first time a head-count could be done. There were 77 of us — 17 British, 15 Philipinos, one Yugoslav and the remainder Portuguese, including four women and four children, the youngest of whom was 14 months.

We also had our first taste of our bland rations we were to receive during the rest of the journey. They consisted of rice, manjoca or sweetcorn with a small amount of poor meat.

Unita soldiers erected shelters for us made from branches and bed sheets, demonstrating their willingness to assist us as much as they could. We remained wary of our captors.

**Day two:**

Wake me up, I've had enough of this nightmare. After a sparse breakfast we set off again but soon stopped.

As the Unita troops marched passed us we felt we were being shown their numbers, discipline and fire power.

Their only casualty appeared to be one soldier with a bandaged shoulder.

Back on the march again soon and carried on until just before midday. BBC at midday (heard by hostages on radio smuggled along) says Kafunfo has been taken. Later BBC confirmed that 77 expats had been taken, including 40 Portuguese who were to be released unconditionally.

Our compass and map tell us we are heading slightly north of east in the direction of Zaire. If that's our destination we won't be walking for long.

The health of the women is deteriorating rapidly. Grade's wife (Eugenia) had to be carried in to the camp on a stretcher. Felgeuros's wife (Idilia) fainted on the last hill while Barbosa's wife (Lurdes) cried her eyes out on arrival at the camp.

**Day three:**

The day started with a speech by "the major" (the most senior Unita soldier responsible for us) explaining to us that they had no grudge against us for being there and would be in no danger, provided there was no intervention by Government forces.

It was a long hard morning, blisters were starting and tiredness was setting in rapidly. We thought we had finished for the day when we sat down for a rest. But after a little food we were on the march again.

They pushed us hard until we were ready to drop and finally we stopped for the night at just past midnight. All were fit to drop just then, but then the rains started and with little cover there was no chance of a good sleep. Most simply huddled around the fire.

As dawn broke around 5 am, people were obviously at a very low ebb. Everything was soaked through, tiredness was taking its toll and hunger pains were intense.

**Days 4 to 15:**

Having set into a pattern of the life of a hostage on the march the images became a blur. Day became night, and night turned into day. You walked because the guy in front walked.

You stopped when he stopped, and you caught some sleep at every possible moment — which wasn't often.

That was especially true in the early days, for then we marched all hours, trying to kill the miles, and cross the open country by night. Several times we were on the move from dusk to dawn, mile after mile through open

bush along sandy track and down through jungle valleys. They were the worst, the valleys.

The plains were riddled with rivers that dived into the valleys, dipping steeply into a swampy floor of living humus.

The trees and vines entwined eerily, just waiting to trip you. And trip you they did, because not only did they have the luck of cloudy nights but also no moon was to be seen.

## Day 16:

Another day of marching, put us according to our calculations, close to another major river. All afternoon we rested and that evening we packed and were off again — finding the river less than 1 km away.

River crossings, at times, became an adventure. This one, the Cacomb, was

no exception.

This was the second time we had to take to the inflatable rubber boat for a large river, which to transport over 1 000 men took more than 24 hours.

Generally logs or big trees would be felled to cross rivers. A couple of times we waded, and once they hadn't allowed for the excessive overnight rain and the wooden crossing was half a metre under water.

We struck camp a few kms from the river, setting up our shelters and getting the camp fires going. While waiting for food "the major" summoned the leaders of the groups and lectured them on the reality of the situation.

A number of complaints had been voiced, concerning food — its quality and quantity — the lighting of fires and the building of shelters. In short he told us to stop complaining.

Food was running low, rice and milk had run out and we would have to live largely off the land.

## Part II - 29 May 84 p 12

[Text] Days 17 to 21 were the days of marching, marching... and more marching.

The only relief from the monotony was the "python incident" on day 18.

A group of Unita soldiers spotted a 4,5 m python lying at the side of the path. One attacked it with a knife, stabbing it in the head and supposedly killing it.

Three Portuguese hostages lifted the python onto their shoulders and carried it to the top of the hill where the rest of us had stopped for lunch. Half an hour later, while they were discussing how to skin the snake, it suddenly turned and slithered off down the hill.

But it was not allowed to escape. A soldier attacked it with a machette cutting off its head to make sure it was dead. They skinned it, cut it up and distributed the meat among the hostages. It was the only food that evening.

## Day 22

This was the only day we felt ourselves to be in real danger since we left Kafunfo. There had been a few anxious moments earlier on as a helicopter passed by and one or two planes had been heard, probably looking for us. But there was no real danger.

While crossing yet another swamp in the morning there was a series of big explosions heard over to the east. Instructions were shouted and everyone ran for the trees, with troops

dishing out bits of trees and bushes to one and all as camouflage.

The whine of the high-flying jets was clear, as was the distinctive sound of the spotter aircraft.

Later a second major wave of aircraft came across, bombing the same area.

Those same planes had almost certainly been back to reload — probably at Malange — and were running a second unsuccessful mission.

Come evening we moved into a Unita base near Alto Chicapa.

The camp was obviously well appointed and had been their main base for quite some time. Our welcome to the village started 500 m away where a group of 30 women were singing as we walked past.

When we reached the camp a second group joined us, leading us to our accommodation, singing their hearts out along the way. We could make from the songs a few words like "Savimbi", "Unita", "Cubans", and "Russians" — and the sentiment was obvious.

The huts were of grass and

contained beds of wood and reeds — the first we had seen since leaving Kafunfo. With the blankets they gave us we looked forward to an extremely comfortable night.

After a 24-hour rest, washing and eating as much as we wanted, we were ready to continue the dreaded march.

By now things had improved quite a lot because we had cattle along with us for slaughter. We also had blankets and had been provided with new socks, making life more comfortable.

## Days 24 to 31

These merged into each other with monotonous trudging, but for the last of these days the hostages were split into two groups.

We had been told that this was for medical reasons, one of the groups being fitter and setting out ahead. The slower group included the women and children.

## Day 31:

The one target we had always had our sights on was the Benguela railway line, knowing that to be near the end of our walk. There was considerable relief when we reached it that evening.

Although it was just a line on the map, and a railway line like any other, it was of symbolic importance to all of us.

## Day 32

We finally ended our exhausting walk at 10.30 am on day 32. We had covered 500 km — almost half of Angola — when we reached a rendezvous in the middle of the bush. The truck which the soldiers had been talking about for the last four weeks finally arrived — to a spontaneous applause from us all.

After a meal of dry biscuits and peanut butter — the most delicious food we had had for a month — 33 of the hostages and 11 soldiers clambered into the back of a five-ton open truck.

At 1 pm we started off on a bush track to Jamba — and it turned out to be one of the most nightmarish trips any of us can remember.

Squeezed in like sardines, seated on a steel floor, we all suffered cramp, severe bruising and pins and needles.

A second truck had been promised but nothing had appeared by the time we reached the second encampment. There we had a "real feast" which consisted of rice, corned beef, eggs and bread — none of which we had seen on the march.

There was to be no rest and at 11 pm we were off again.

After picking up another truck on the second day, we spent the next three days crammed in the back of the vehicles heading south, stopping only when nature called. The convoy reached Jamba, the sizeable Unita headquarters, on day 35 (March 28), exactly five weeks after being taken captive.

The next 46 days in Jamba were full of boredom, speculation and waiting for news.

The day after we arrived at Jamba the second group came in, bearing tales of desperation and despair among their group. One hostage had attempted to commit suicide, and several others had become incontinent.

After cleaning ourselves up we were introduced to Dr Jonas Savimbi, who attempted to explain the situation to us.

He told us that all that was requested of the British Government was that it acknowledge the existence of Unita. There was no question of asking for aid, or even recognition of their cause, but merely that they talk directly to Unita rather than through intermediaries, he told us.

Meeting the journalists the following day was a highpoint as it was our first contact with anyone from the outside world.

They questioned us on the taking of Kafunfo, the march and the way we were being treated.

We were all deeply concerned about the health of Luis Rodri-

gues (the Portuguese hostage who suffered from diabetes and needed daily insulin) which had taken a turn for the worse. He had been weak throughout the journey and slipped into a coma on April 10.

The following day he was shipped out and we heard no more about him. (We only learnt of his death when they reached Johannesburg a month later).

Easter Sunday brought a pleasant surprise — no Easter eggs, but the International Red Cross representatives visited the camp, bringing nothing but good news.

They told us the Portuguese and Philipinos would fly out that Thursday, and that our repatriation would take place in two to three weeks. Some people even received letters from home.

Our next visitor did not appear until day 78 — May 10 — when Dr Savimbi arrived with an American envoy, Mr Arnaud de Borchgrave, who informed us that we would be leaving that weekend.

That afternoon we had an interview with the SABC, who confirmed our release.

Sir John Leahy, the British Under-Secretary, arrived in Jamba on Saturday May 12 to wrap up the final details.

After a short, formal ceremony of handing over the hostages, we left in the early hours of Sunday morning for a nine-hour truck ride to meet the C-130 aeroplane.

Only when boarding the plane were we able to release any emotion, and as we took off there was a roar of elation from one and all.

JAMBA, UNITA'S CHIEF SETTLEMENT, DESCRIBED

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 5 Jun 84 p 4

[Text] JAMBA (ANGOLA):

No roads lead to Jamba. Visitors to this rebel camp in the Angolan bush arrive at a remote grass landing strip by flying just above the trees to escape government radar. Then they bounce in a truck for eight hours over rutted game trails.

Jamba doesn't appear on most maps, but guerrillas chief, Jonas Savimbi, calls it "the capital of liberated Angola."

His Unita group has been fighting the marxist government for nine years.

Wealthy Portuguese colonialists used to come to Jamba to shoot elephant.

Toay, Jamba is a community of some 20 000 guerrillas and their families, dispersed over 100 square kilometres to make it difficult for government bombers to find targets.

Jamba has never been bombed and the war is hundreds of kilometres away.

The settlement is peaceful.

Except for guerrillas carrying guns, Jamba resembles a tourist safari camp.

Generators deliver electricity to tidy reed huts.

Guerrillas mustering at dawn sweep up litter before they eat breakfast.

Mr Savimbi and his aides gloss over assertions that they are supported by South Africa."

But evidence abounds. Truck tyres say "made in South Africa."

Visitors enjoy wine from Cape Town, beer from Johannesburg.

Unita officers smoke South African cigarettes,

In an earth-floor foundry, machinists turn out mortar rounds using a South African shell as a model.

ELEPHANT

The Jamba region, in the south-east corner of Angola close to borders with Zambia and Namibia, was known to the Portuguese as "the end of the world."

Kavango tribesmen call it "the place god forgot."

In their language, Jamba means "elephant."

Even in winter, daytime temperatures often soar into the 30 °C.

Jamba's soil is sugar-like sand and doesn't retain heat. Nights can be near freezing.

Two physicians staff the 250-bed, thatched-roof hospital.

An ageing medic who never went to school performs appendectomies and says he learned the technique by watching missionary doctors.

The operating room is spotless except for a battered steel bucket stained black with blood.

Hendrik Raimundo, a university-trained surgeon, says it is testimony to his most common chore — amputations.

Captured trucks and artillery pieces are reconditioned in Unita's "repair shop" — reed-roofed buildings with earthen floors.

Brake linings from British-made trucks are fitted into Polish vehicles.

Welders mount anti-aircraft guns from the 1950s on American pickup trucks made in the 1970s.

ARSENAL

In the shade of trees, teenage boys operate the "arsenal."

A boy accepts an automatic rifle from a guerrilla back from patrol, strips the gun and bathes the parts in oil.

A second youth scrubs the parts. Another boy reassembles the weapon.

Last is the inspector, who slams the mechanism back and forth, sights

down the barrel and clicks the trigger.

Satisfied, he stows the weapon on a rack made stacked alongside techniques from tree branches.

One rack is for Belgian rifles, another is for Portuguese.

There is a place for Egyptian-made AK-47s and another for the Chinese and East German models of the same gun.

Laughing, the youngsters claim there isn't a gun made that stumps them.

Katyusha rockets, looking like 1.8-metre lengths of plumber's pipe, are

cians who lengthen them with extra tubing and add more fuel.

"It doubles the range," said a captain named Michael.

A visitor asks how the Soviet-designed missile — now crudely elongated — can be fired.

The captain points to workers welding metal extensions onto captured Katyusha launchers.

"We make them longer, too," he said.

After sundown on Saturday, at the end of the work week, a lathe operator remains by his machine.

Elephant tusks are strewn nearby and the man has switched from turning out firing pins to making ivory bracelets.

"We in Unita want to be capitalists," he said, offering his wares for sale. — Sapa — AP.

CSO: 3400/1083

CALTEX GAS BOTTLING PLANT KEY POINTER TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 18 May 84 p 1

[Text] **GABORONE, MAY 17:** The Minister of Commerce and Industry Mr M.P.K. Nwako has said that the Caltex gas bottling plant completed recently demonstrates the "growth of our economy in the field of services industries."

Minister Nwako said this when he officially opened the Caltex oil plant here today.

The Minister pointed out that the plant had been constructed to internationally accepted standards and was "one of the most modern, if not the most modern in Southern Africa."

He said that because of the automatic functioning of the plant, every cylinder which is

filled would have exactly the right amount of gas.

The Minister noted that in this situation, the possibility of human error in this important matter would have been removed.

Caltex has a very long association with Botswana, Mr Nwako said, and explained that

the forerunners of the present day Caltex, known as the Texas Oil Company S.A. Limited, had operated in the then Bechuanaland between 1911 and 1940.

The Minister added that in 1940 when the organisation became Caltex Oil S.A. Limited, it continued to operate in Botswana until 1972 when an independently operated company, Caltex Oil Botswana was registered.

The Minister said that the present Caltex retail network in

the country comprised over 32 filling stations from major towns of selected small villages throughout Botswana.

He added that Caltex bulk fuels were delivered to many retail outlets such as individual consumers, town councils and farmers in the Tuli Block and Barolong Farms.

Earlier on, Mr J.F. Champin, the Director of Caltex Oil Botswana said that the newly commissioned bottling plant here was a "tangible evidence of Caltex' commitment to the industrial development of Botswana."

The guests were informed that the investment in the plant, the building and facilities for the distribution of gas, represented a sum of approximately P1 million.

The plant, Mr Champin noted, conforms to Caltex worldwide standards for this type of operation and can handle the decanting of the largest size of tank car operated by both the Zimbabwe and South Africa Railways in less than an hour.

Mr Champin pointed out that over 800 bottles of LPG can be accommodated on the elevated platform with slight overflow to adjacent areas.

The new plant, he explained, had been planned to accommodate the future needs and would result in an improved distribution service to users of LPG for cooking, cooling, heating, lighting and camping.

CSO: 3400/1081

AGRICULTURAL MINISTER ON DROUGHT PROGRAM

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 17 May 84 p 1

[Text] GABORONE, May 15: Botswana will spend over P30 million on drought this year.

Officially opening the 19th Ordinary Meeting of the Southern African Regional Commission for Conservation and Utilisation of Soil (SARCCUS) at the Gaborone Sun Conference Centre yesterday morning, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Washington Meswele told over 100 delegates that the money could have been used for permanent development.

Mr Meswele said Botswana with a population of barely a million would this year harvest between 10 000 or 20 000 tons of staple crops like maize and sorghum and that imports this year will amount to around 200 000 tons.

He said SARCCUS was demonstrating and providing technical competence and urged the participants to utilise the best brains and institutions in the region for crop agriculture, livestock, forestry, fisheries, soil conservation and other related areas.

The strength that SARCCUS provides through its regional membership was very important, he said, because "our citizen staff do not all yet have all the agricultural and related skills that Botswana requires."

In response, Professor S.A. Hulme, the South Africa delegate, said the plight of agriculture and preservation of the environment is at present formidable due to the stagnation of the world economy.

Professor Hulme said the rocketing prices of fuel, fertilizers, and pesticides since the early seventies have added to the problem.

The major hazards of drought and floods, political instability in many territories, environmental pollution and the escalating population numbers have increased the need to produce more food, he said.

CSO: 3400/1081

## JWANENG MINE PRODUCES MORE DIAMONDS

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 28 May 84 p 5

[Text] GABORONE, May 24: The Jwaneng diamond mine is producing 50% more diamonds than was originally anticipated, the General Manager of Debswana, Mr Mike Wittet, told members of the House of Chiefs when they toured the mining town yesterday.

In a short introductory meeting before the tour, Mr Wittet said that 7.2 million carats was the target for this year, and added that the mine "had great potential."

Mr Wittet also said that it was Jwaneng's privilege to entertain such honoured guests and that the visit would serve to enhance the already good relations between the expatriates and the nationals in the town.

Members of the House went on a conducted tour of the mine and also witnessed the glittering gems in the sorting house.

The Chiefs were fascinated by the large 77 ton haul trucks which transport the ore to the primary crusher.

The mine's operations were thoroughly explained by officials Mr Grobler and Mr B. Walker.

Mr I.H.S. Mothopeng, also an official of Debswana accompanied the chiefs on their tour and at around 12 noon the chiefs visited the 50-bed Debswana Hospital.

Mr Francis Phiri, a specially elected member of the House said in a vote of thanks that the tour was very educative, and

that he had never had so much fun as he had yesterday.

After the mid-day meal, the members of the House assembled in the Community Hall for a briefing by Jwaneng Township Authority (JTA) officials.

Welcoming the chiefs to the town, the Chairman of the JTA, Mr Henry Nyirenda said that Jwaneng was indeed blessed by their visit.

Also speaking at the occasion, the MP for the area, Mr Michael Tshipinare told the chiefs that Jwaneng was a sub-regional headquarter of the Southern District and described Jwaneng as the most efficient mine in the country.

The physical layout of the town was explained by JTA Executive Officer Mr O.O. Pitsi and JTA Physical Planner, Mr T.S. Gcemashe.

Commenting on the Sir Seretse Khama Monument, the only monument erected in his honour in this country, Mr Pitsi said; "through this humble symbol, the residents of Jwaneng vowed that the memory of Khama would never be forgotten as long as the town lives."

He said that the monument was a constant reminder of the ideals which Sir Seretse lived for, and the people's commitment to them.

The Chiefs took a group picture at the monument, a steel structure encased in copper sheeting and mounted on a pedestal.

The Chiefs all appeared impressed by the cleanliness and neat organisation and planning of the little town after they toured the Kgalagadi Block.

CSO: 3400/1081

MAUN, SHOROBE SAID TO BE PROMISING AGRICULTURAL AREAS

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 21 May 84 p 3

[Text] GABORONE, MAY 15: The area between Maun and Shorobe was a most promising area for the development of high yielding agriculture in the near future, said Mr D.E. Gollifer, Chief Arable Research Officer in the Ministry of Agriculture.

He made these comments when he presented a paper on 'Crop Production' with particular reference to Botswana at the 19th Ordinary Meeting of SARCCUS (Southern African Regional Committee for the Conservation and Utilisation of the Soil) here this week.

Mr Gollifer said that there were about 10 000 hectares of good soils that could be developed rapidly at comparatively low cost in the area.

He went on to note that it was the policy of the Ministry of Agriculture to develop the area, mainly for cereal production, as rapidly as possible.

"The general target would be to have 90 per cent of the area fully developed and in production by 1995."

He said that it is envisaged that about 40 per cent of the total area would be used by the population of nearby villages, and the remainder 60 per cent would be allocated for commercial agriculture.

Commenting on Eastern Botswana, Mr Gollifer said that it

was estimated that 320 million cubic metres of water runs off annually in the Limpopo system and 270 million cubic metres in the Shashe river.

He said this was a considerable amount of water which leaves the country annually, and little is used in Botswana for agricultural purposes.

"The estimated area of land suitable for irrigation along the main rivers of Eastern Botswana is 90 200 hectares, and a further 25 000 has been classed as irrigable subject to further studies of salinity and drainage," he explained.

However, he added, only a small proportion of this area of irrigable land has any potential for the development of irrigation schemes in the foreseeable future, owing partly to the lack of water throughout much of the country, and partly to the very high cost of water storage on most rivers.

He stressed that the task ahead for irrigation development was substantial, but indicated that given financial support and enhanced management, it could contribute dramatically to Botswana's goal of self-sufficiency in basic food cereals.

Mr Gollifer said that it is estimated that 20 000 hectares of irrigated land in Eastern Botswana could produce 100 000

tons of maize and sorghum per annum.

"This together with the putative production from traditional melapo and commercial farmers in Ngamiland could go a long way towards achieving food self-sufficiency," he said.

The Research Officer discussed at length the numerous problems of agricultural production in the country, and noted the serious impact of the three year drought on cereal production.

Mr Gollifer also discussed dryland agriculture and indicated that the dominant problem associated with production was the low level and erratic distribution of rainfall on which dryland crop production has to rely.

TRANS-KALAHARI RAILWAY ROUTE DECIDED

Gaborone BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS in English 21 May 84 p 1

[Text] **GABORONE, May 17: The much-publicised Trans-Kalahari Railway project is now taking on the appearance of a definite possibility.**

**According to an official announcement here, "the first phase of the Trans-Kalahari Railway Feasibility Study has now been completed and the most suitable route for the proposed new line had been determined."**

The study which is carried out by the United Kingdom firms of Henderson Busy, Travers Morgan and Posford Pavery for the Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs, has reviewed four possible route corridors for the railway, said the Ministry in a press release.

The prime task of the railway is to transport Botswana's huge reserves of coal to a port on the West Coast as cheaply and quickly as possible, which makes the best route a direct route across the Kalahari desert from the Kgaswe coal fields to the Namibian border in the Mamuno area.

Within Namibia, the route utilises the existing railway formation as far as possible but a new section of the line would be required to by-pass the mountain terrain in the Windhoek region, said the announcement.

According to the report, there are very few places where a large coal terminal port can be established along the infamous "skeleton coast" of Namibia. However, it has been established that the only

suitable site is in the Walvis Bay/Swakopmund region where the pelican headland provides some protection from the Atlantic rollers.

The study on the railway projects now enters the second phase, which include detailed ground inspection of the route which is being carried out by four teams of surveyors and engineers. The results of this inspection will enable a detailed construction cost estimate to be prepared.

The UK firms are supported by staff from local Gaborone based firms of John Burrow and Partners and Kille and Dannhauser.

The Trans-Kgalagadi Railway, according to current thinking, offers Botswana new opportunities for development in previously remote areas, and this has generated much excitement in local and international business circles.

A 'Daily News' report said recently that the project would be an achievement of strategic importance in political and economic terms for Botswana.

COMORO ISLANDS

FUTURE OF MAYOTTE EXAMINED

President Abdallah's Peaceful Campaign

Paris LE MONDE in French 6-7 May 84 p 7

[Article by Jacques de Barrin: "The President and the War of Saliva"]

[Text] President Abdallah is waging a vigorous but peaceful campaign to recover the French Comoro island of Mayotte. On the small island of Moheli, where some are still recalcitrant, he has just paid a visit, and once again, explained his own tactic: to use the art of oratory learned at the Palais Bourbon against France.

Fomboni--It is a holiday. The island of Moheli, the smallest of the Comoros, will receive Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane, chief of state, on this April Saturday. Could it be a pre-election meeting with the presidential term coming to an end in October? The person in question strongly denies it. For whatever purpose it may have served, on the eve of the meeting, the Fomboni gendarmes proceeded to search the homes of six islanders well known not to harbor much sympathy for the regime. Two of these "suspicious elements," placed under house arrest during the presidential visit, are now under lock and key for having been found in possession of the most seditious propaganda.

Did these two teachers, claiming to belong to the Democratic Front, not have a copy of NKONDRO UMBELI (Avant-Garde), the organ of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement of the Comoros? Omar Tamu, minister of interior is anxious to know who is behind this "conspiracy" and supplies Moheli with subversive literature. Is it China, which, along with France, is the only country to maintain an embassy in Moroni and which is building a people's palace in the capital? Its diplomats and technical assistants exhibit such exemplary discretion that one hesitates to put the finger on them.

Mayotte Star

When Ahmed Abdallah got off the Air Comoro Fokker 27, the only aircraft the national company owns, the crowd of Mohelians was there to greet him, unaware of the singular discoveries of the gendarmes. That very morning, public works trucks had gone to pick up natives in the most remote areas to take them to Fomboni, the chief town. The presidential route was lined with streamers

honoring the "liberator of the Comoro people." As a result of the precautions taken, there would be no sour notes as was the case at Mitsamiouli, on Grand Comoro Island, where young people belonging to the Democratic Front had strewn tracts and painted slogans on the route.

In fatigues and green berets, the presidential guard, the "GP," as it is known here, cleared a path for the chief of state wearing the traditional costume: the turban and *djouba*. The men, stiff in their Sunday best, stood discreetly by, while the women, robed in their *chiromanis*, were more voluble. Thirty school children from Fomboni had the honor of singing the national anthem.

Erected between two *sandragons*, the official platform was covered with a white canopy bearing the green crescent and four stars representing the four islands of the archipelago, including the French Mayotte. On the rooftops of the few buildings alongside GP's armed to the teeth watched the crowd beneath their feet. A few steps away, with their glance darting about, were a few "mercenaries" or claiming to be. Stylish: short hair and city clothes, they had neither the physique nor the awkward gait of workers. The "guardian angel" of the president belongs to a big French family.

First came the presentation of wreaths and the reading of verses from the Koran. Then one among many officials got things going in Comoran: "It is the Old Man we want," he urged. Other speakers at previous meetings had proposed naming Ahmed Abdallah president for life. In an inevitable reference to the affair in Mayotte: "Ahmed Abdallah does not have the right to leave before getting this island back," the official claimed. One woman in the crowd echoed him: "We support you. It will be returned to us." The speech went on and on. The president fingered his rosary, then lit a Pall Mall. The ambassador of the People's Republic of China, enigmatic as befits an Asian, seemed to tolerate the heat poorly.

#### Mitterrand

It was then the turn of the deputy from Nioumachoua to speak, in French this time, emphasizing the solicitude of the regime toward Moheli. Its 18,000 inhabitants are no longer neglected: There is a tarred road that will soon circle the island. Fomboni now has telephones, electricity and a surgical unit at the hospital. The proposed port is being studied and construction of a national school of agriculture will soon begin. So-called "commercial" agriculture (cloves and vanilla) is in the hands of a dozen big landowners.

Mohelians who are not wild about working make a fair living from a number of food crops such as cassava and bananas. However meager they may be, the pay of a few hundred civil servants posted on the island bring the natives into the monetary circuit. Since 1981, the government has tried to introduce varieties of rice that would yield two and a half harvests a year instead of one. However, some wonder whether the ambition of turning Moheli into the archipelago's rice grainery will not be fought by a minority of influential people who derive a profit from its importation and distribution.

Recalling the hard times when Ali Soilih dreamed of setting up a secular state on the Comoro Islands, the deputy rejoiced that "Islam, once thwarted, has regained its right of passage," while the islanders try in their own way to reconcile the ritual prayers and magical practices and the witchdoctors in the villages are sometimes more heard than the imams. These same imams have recently insistently denounced the betrayal of the Mahoran brothers: "Because they seceded," they say, "they will not gain access to Allah's paradise."

In Comoran, first of all, then in French, the chief of state responds to the speakers without indicating what his decision will be with respect to the "people's requests" once the time comes. Since the Mayotte affair has been discussed at length, he takes up the topic in turn, embarking upon what he calls "the war of saliva" because, in his opinion, there will be no other means for a poor country to make itself heard by a country more powerful than itself.

Ahmed Abdallah pointed to his long career in the French parliament -- nearly 20 years at the Palais du Luxembourg -- to make his fellow countrymen understand that he "knows the music," the "machinations" of the French political parties. He then attacked the "so-called Gaullists" and the "nostalgia seekers" around Mitterrand. "A chief of state cannot do what he wants," he declared. The French ambassador in the front row on the speakers' stand smiled and looked relaxed, seeming not to take the warning too seriously, even if the tone was more harsh than is customarily the case.

Everything having been said, the meeting came to a close and the good one hundred or so officials accompanying the president happily moved on to the national residence which the French firm Colas has just completed on the Fomboni heights. The rice, *mechoui* and vanilla flan making up the luncheon washed down with Coca Cola were "given" by the people and the local officials whose wages were somewhat reduced for the occasion: "I am responding to an invitation," the president repeated. "It is therefore not I who is doing the spending, but the people themselves."

"The angels of Moheli" enliven the luncheon, providing the sound equipment with their own fee. They are both composers and orators, but patriotic songs carry the day. A topper on their electric guitars: "One must not betray one's country." Before the chief of state returned to the capital, a few islanders spoke to him of their problems. Is he not accustomed to handing down justice every afternoon "under the mango tree" when he is in Moroni? One Mohelian compalins: "Untel insulted me in public; he was drunk." Ahmed Abdallah concludes: "The next time, slap him a few times."

President Says Mayotte Part of Comoros

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 May 84 p 7

[Interview with President Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane, in Moroni; date not given]

[Text] Our special correspondent on Mayotte also went to Moroni, where he talked with the president of the Comoro Islands, President Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane, about the problem posed by the French overseas territory.

[Question] Are the Comoro Islands determined to wait patiently as long as necessary to obtain the restitution of Mayotte by France through dialogue?

[Answer] You know that the principles of the UN and OAU charters are aimed at settling problems of all kinds between nations in a peaceful manner. As members of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, we respect those principles. We shall therefore wait as long as necessary to obtain the restitution of the Comoro island of Mayotte through dialogue. Mayotte is not on another planet; it is part of the natural Comoro unit. France is playing the part of gendarme on Mayotte, but we shall not stand idly by.

[Question] Do you believe that France can avoid a consultation of the Mahoran population before sealing the fate of Mayotte?

[Answer] You will have to ask the French authorities that question. It is not up to us to impose a given solution. For us, Mayotte is part of the national territory, occupied by a foreign power. Through a French law the Comoro population was consulted on 22 December 1974. The process of self-determination of peoples under colonial domination was therefore begun under normal, regulated conditions.

[Question] Are you convinced that the French chief of state has been won over to the idea of giving Mayotte back to the Comoro Islands?

[Answer] At the summit conference of the French and African chiefs of state in Paris in 1981 and Vittel in 1983, President Mitterrand publicly told me that he does not change positions when he changes office.

When Mitterrand was a deputy in the opposition, he voted along with his party against laws aimed at Balkanizing the Comoro Islands.

As I did on 22 October 1983, once again today and from the bottom of my heart, on this problem of the Comoro island of Mayotte, I address a solemn appeal to the president of the French Republic, his government and all elected officials of the French people, asking them to respond with the same enthusiasm and the same sincerity.

[Question] If France gives you back Mayotte are you willing to grant it military facilities?

[Answer] My country is quite willing to sincerely examine new economic, cultural and military agreements linking France with the four islands making up the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoro Islands. We have sentimental, historic, cultural and now economic ties with France.

[Question] To facilitate Mayotte's return to the Comoro unit, are you willing to modify the constitution in a more federal direction, even grant Mahorans double nationality?

[Answer] Our constitution was set up based on a federal model. Modifying a constitution is not the business of a single person.

My country chose its path in complete independence and freedom, setting up a liberal, democratic regime on Comoro soil. There is the Island Council, the Federal Assembly and, at the head of each island, a governor. If one day the political situation or the administrative machinery should require a modification of the constitution, then the question will be asked.

As far as the problem of double nationality is concerned, why only for the Mahorans? We are a nation made up of four islands. We attribute great value to life and freedom. Therefore, all Comorans must enjoy the same advantages and bear the same difficulties, if there are any. That is the fate of all nations.

[Question] If they become part of the Comoro whole, do the Mahorans not risk losing many socioeconomic advantages guaranteeing them their status as French citizens?

[[Answer] At the present time, our Mahoran brothers are in a situation of being irresponsible, dependent men. They are trying to make them abdicate their dignity through the futile promise of material advantages whose illusory nature escapes no one.

[Question] How do you view the fear expressed by some Mahorans of having to join a nation with a single party?

[Answer] Even President Mitterrand, in the 30 March 1984 issue of PARIS-MATCH, said: "I shall never tire of calling for the union of all French people." I have long followed that path, which seems to me to be the best, and the Mahoran people do not have to be afraid.

Our nation is young, very young, and for us Comorans, uniting is a sacred duty. It is in unity that we can talk of our problems, in an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

## Advantages of Remaining French

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 May 84 p 7

[Article by Jacques de Barrin: "Remaining French To Remain Free?"]

[Text] Dzaoudzi--"We shall soon see whether the Mahorais will shake the hand of the devil," we were told by Ahmed Abdallah Abderrahmane, Comoro chief of state, referring to the food assistance he had decided to ship to Mayotte after the passage of Cyclone Kamisy at the beginning of April. As soon as he learned of this "gesture of solidarity," hailed as such by Quai d'Orsay, Marcel Henry, the island's centrist senator, denounced "that humanitarian action motivated by political considerations." For his part, Mrs Zena M'Dere, president of the Mahorais People's Movement (MPM), angrily condemned it: "It is filthy propaganda. France's aid is enough." When the news spread that the freighter "Komor-El Koweit" had set sail for Dzaoudzi carrying 187 tons of food aid, a few dozen vociferous matrons demonstrated at the port, organizing a sit-in around the prefecture to voice their determination to oppose the unloading of the accursed aid: "We will dump it into the sea."

The legion was discreetly given the task of unloading the Comoro freighter and temporarily transferring the provisions to a barge. The dockers controlled by Henry threatened to go out on strike and Prefect Francois Bonnelle agreed to postpone the unloading and the distribution of the aid as long as the general council refused to receive it. "The women said no," explained Younoussa Bamana, president of the territorial assembly. And here, the women are the boss. Even so, the aid would have been very useful in helping victims of Cyclone Kamisy which, in the south of the main island, caused some 150 million francs in damage, more than the island's annual budget, and which, in ruining food crops, compromised the proper diet of the people for many months. Who, in this impassioned atmosphere, can say whether these people without a vote would not have wanted to shake "the devil's hand," caught between a rock and a hard place?

## Ambition of the Extremists

In order to remain French and let it be known, some Mahorais are willing to resort to the most dubious means, all the more unscrupulously because since the meeting which their elected officials held at the end of January in Paris with Guy Penne, presidential adviser for African and Malagasy affairs, they know that the government supports the idea of seeing their island "unite" with the three other sister islands of the Comoro archipelago. In vain did Henry affirm: "We have the assurance that the chief of state is concerned about respecting the constitution. We cannot imagine that the government would be guilty of a forfeit." He is careful, like other island officials, not to exclude the possibility of some "irregular move." The other day, at the official opening of the Sada auxiliary town hall, the prefect left out the traditional closing of "Vive la France!" the senator noted. In principle, the government must consult with the Mahorais population before the end of the year on whether or not to maintain the island's status as a "territorial community." The law of 24 December 1976, which had defined it as such, failing

to envision its future clearly, was extended for five years in 1979. Will it be again? Lacking anything better, local officials would be resigned to a new postponement.

The ambition of the Mahorais "extremists" -- and perhaps the secret dream of a majority of islanders -- would be to become a full overseas department, another Reunion. Everyone here knows that this will never be the case, that Paris will never create another "core of jealousy" in the Indian Ocean. Is this splitting hairs? "What we want," explains Abdoul Anzizi, president of the Mahorais Rally for the Republic (RMPR), the local branch of the RPR, "is a definitive status tying us to France without any possibility of turning back." The common sense solution that Paris seems to recommend and be planning is the smooth return of Mayotte to the Comoro group, whence the importance of the guarantees that must be obtained from Moroni in return. "We are not takers," says Henry. "These commitments would have no value; France would be incapable of making an independent state respect them." On the other hand, Bamina has no illusions when he plays the card of openness. He says he "supports discussions with Ahmed Abdallah, the organization of a round table," the government's suggestion, for studying the guarantees."

Actually, the advantages of becoming part of the Comoro Islands once again are not immediately obvious to the islanders. They know what France's "release" would cost them in terms of their standard of living. From Mamutsu to Boueni via Sada, it is always nearly the same lament heard from the peasants and fishermen encountered along the way: "France is fine.... With the Comoros, there will be no money." Through Radio Cocotier and all the local gossip, the Mahorais are totally aware of what is happening with their neighbors and brothers. Wisdom would therefore counsel them to hang on rather than run. After Cyclone Kamisy, they could not help thinking that the mother country came to their aid faster and better than anyone else would have done if they had belonged to the Comoro ensemble.

Of course, the mother country cannot boast about its neglect of the islands and Mayotte in particular: "a poor French territory among the poorest group, without the backbone of a colonial economy," the prefect stresses. Even the "departmentalists" admit that "France has done nothing here for 134 years." In 1975, on the main island, there was no water or electricity, only a few kilometers of tarred road. For the past dozen years or so, Paris has been proceeding ahead post haste. All elementary age children now attend school. There are 4,000 wage earners in the tertiary sector, including 2,000 civil servants or related workers, whose salaries support a large part of the population.

The interoccupational minimum growth wage (SMIC) was raised to 801 francs on 1 February. The number of passenger cars has risen 20 times over in 10 years. As for the foreign legion that maintains a detachment of some 300 men here, it spends the trifling sum of 10 million francs a year here! "The islanders have been turned into beggars," says Ali Said, secretary general of the Party for the Mahorais Democratic Rally (PRDM), which works for Mayotte's union with the Comoro Islands. "The upcoming generation measures the dangers of such a situation," he says. "We are laying the foundations for a long struggle."

## Fear of Anjouan Residents

Then there is the fear lingering in the minds of some Mahorais of seeing the return of Anjouan residents in force as a result of reunification. That group is tightly crowded on its island and has in the past appropriated much land. "The Anjouan people scare me," says Bamana. "They have great poverty. They will come back for sure." These "food arguments" are indignantly rejected by supporters of the MPM, who have 14 out of the 17 seats on the General Council and control 13 out of 17 municipalities. As if the Mayotte affair could be summed up in money! Their slogan: "Remaining French to remain free." All those who have any position at all, privileges or interests to defend, fear, rightly or wrongly, having to pay the price of a rapprochement with the Comoro Islands where, "no matter who is in power, there will always be a dictatorship, like everywhere else in Africa."

"I love France and even if that is not mutual, I know it will not kill me," says Mrs M'Dere through an interpreter. As for Youssouf Moussa, first secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Democratic Front, he is for a "reintegration on conditions preserving advantages already acquired," including the multiparty system and the SMIC. All things considered, the Mahorais on the whole do not have sparkling memories of the 30 years they shared with the Comorans from 1946 to 1975. The decision to transfer the capital from Dzaoudzi to Moroni in 1958 still sticks in their throats. Were they as persecuted as some claim? It matters little. If the choice is given to them, they would go it alone.

Furthermore, have they not, in the past, manifested a certain concern for setting themselves apart, out of principle, from their Comoran brothers, to whom they are nevertheless so close in their way of living? In 1958, they said no to De Gaulle, when the three other sister islands voted yes. In 1969, they chose Poher, while the rest of the archipelago cast its ballots for Pompidou. One can therefore guess the results of a referendum on Mayotte, however little the all-powerful MPM, which rallied women to its cause on an island with matriarchal traditions, spreads its propaganda to a largely illiterate population. It would be a piece of cake.

If it were not for the floating workshop "Jules Verne" and the rapid patrol vessel "L'Epee," riding anchor in a roadstead envied by many, if it were not for the white kepis and red pompoms, Dzaoudzi and Mamutsu would look like any other dull canton chief towns. But because of the times and its location, Mayotte can no longer go unnoticed. If hearts and morale did not order Mayotte to remain French, as was the case on two occasions: in December 1974 and February 1976, perhaps the well-considered interest of the country demand it, say the Mahorais extremists in the final analysis. "Pay attention!" they warn. "In desperation, Reunion is closely following what is going on here. Furthermore, the Soviets are on Diego-Suarez!"

Already, Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front has set up "French Mayotte" cells on Reunion. Since the beginning of the year, in the columns of his weekly, LE JOURNAL DE MAYOTTE, Pinchon, the pharmacist-bookstore owner of Dzaoudzi has preached the good word: "It is difficult to remain neutral," he notes.

That is precisely the criticism of the prefect, who would like to avoid mixing the finances of the territorial community in this adventure of the press, or just this plain adventure.

11,464  
CSO: 3419/649

MINISTER REPORTS ON CONFERENCE OF NONALIGNED NATIONS

Conakry HOROYA in French 24 May 84 p 3

[Interview with Capt Mamadou Baldet, minister of labor, by Ibrahima Sory Camara; date and place not given]

[Text] Following its visit to Addis Ababa, where the seventh regular session of the Conference of Nonaligned Nations was held last April, a substantial delegation representing the government of our country, headed by Capt Mamadou Baldet, a member of the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN) and minister of labor and government, and which included Mamouna Bangoura, head of the Labor Department Office, participated in the work of the Third Conference of Labor Ministers of the Member Nations of the Nonaligned Movement in the capital of Nicaragua, Managua, from 10 to 13 May.

These sessions provided Capt Mamadou Baldet with an opportunity to explain the reasons for the advent of the Second Republic as of last 3 April, thus dissipating the lack of understanding and mistrust clouding the atmosphere at the conference.

Apart from the conference sessions, the Guinean government delegation participated in some very interesting meetings in Managua, Washington and New York.

HOROYA interviewed Capt Mamadou Baldet.

HOROYA: Mr Minister, you have just returned from Managua, where, as the head of the Guinean delegation, you participated in the work of the Conference of Labor Ministers of Member Nations of the Nonaligned Movement. What problems did this conference take up, and what conclusions did it reach?

Mamadou Baldet: Yes, you are quite right, a large delegation representing our government, which I had the honor of heading, participated in the sessions of the Third Conference of Labor Ministers of Nonaligned Nations in Managua, Republic of Nicaragua, from 10 to 13 May 1984.

This was a conference held to assess the decisions adopted by the first and second conferences of the Labor Ministers of the Nonaligned Nations. This assessment made it possible to bring the plans for action of the first two conferences up to date, among other things in the fields of vocational training, development of human resources in the rural and industrial sectors, and technical cooperation with the ILO and within the ITU [International Telecommunication Union].

Above all, it was a question of developing and strengthening both horizontal and vertical cooperation among the nonaligned countries.

HOROYA: It seems that the participants in the conference were keenly interested in the advent as of 3 April last of the Second Republic in our country. What can you tell us in this connection?

Mamadou Baldet: No country, no government, we would even say no conscious citizen who has followed the development of our people in the past quarter of a century at all can be indifferent to the events of 3 April 1984.

But, as you know, every change arouses enthusiasm, but also provokes mistrust and reservations.

It was precisely such an atmosphere we noted during this third conference.

My delegation very quickly realized the need to report both to those who were informed and those who were not. This is what was done intensively, through direct and individual talks with almost all of the delegations present in Managua.

Moreover, we made a major statement at the outset, giving the reasons for the seizure of power by the officers of the Guinean Armed Forces in detail.

But I must say that the talks were as effective as possible. By the end of the conference, we were entirely satisfied with the atmosphere of understanding which by then prevailed around us.

HOROYA: Apart from the work of the conference, you had important meetings with the Nicaraguan authorities, including in particular the chief of state. What was the subject of these interviews?

Mamadou Baldet: Apart from the conference, my delegation had the honor of being received by the Nicaraguan chief of state, the coordinator of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction.

I must tell you that I carried a personal message from the Guinean chief of state, Col Lansana Conte, to his Nicaraguan counterpart. Our interview developed in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding.

HOROYA: Mr Minister, en route back to Conakry, at the UN headquarters in New York, and in Washington, you had meetings with the secretary general of the United Nations, on the one hand, and with the authorities of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on the other. Can you tell us about the results of these meetings?

Mamadou Baldet: Again as bearers of messages from the Guinean chief of state to the secretary general of the United Nations in New York, on the one hand, and to the director general of the IMF, on the other, the members of my delegation were to reestablish the availability of our country to participate effectively in the UN system, on behalf of the Guinean people, government and

chief of state, Col Lansana Conte, explaining that as a result, our government will spare no effort to guarantee respect for the principles underlying the UN. My meetings on both these levels were characterized by understanding.

HOROYA: What impression did you take with you from the mission you have just completed?

Mamadou Baldet: Very simply, I learned that human contact can clarify what no written document or other form of information can. This is why I thank the chief of state for having offered me such an exceptional opportunity, not only to defend our positions of principle, but to make friends in the service of our new regime. I say this from the bottom of my heart and on behalf of my entire delegation.

HOROYA: Thank you, Mr Minister.

5157

CSO: 3419/692

PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR ANALYZED

Conakry HOROYA in French 29 May 84 p 3

[Interview with Capt M. Oumar Khebet, minister of foreign trade, by Ibrahima Sory Camara; date and place not given]

HOROYA: A month after having become the head of the Foreign Trade Ministry, can you bring us up to date about this key strategic sector in our national economy?

M. Oumar Khebet: This is an excellent question you are asking, because it is very important for the people to have a correct assessment of the extent of the tasks confronting it. However, I must admit humbly that we ourselves do not yet know for certain the dimensions of the problems to be resolved. What I can say on the other hand is that the heritage from the old regime, in this particular sector of our economy, as is true moreover for the others, is burdensome. Moreover, one of the statements issued by the CMRN [Military Committee for National Recovery] after 3 April has already made a point of this.

To summarize, one could say that the problems in our foreign trade have to do with several evils:

- A trade balance in very serious difficulties;
- Totally disorganized foreign trade;
- Surplus and very often idle personnel; and
- The invasion of our trade sector by a host of businessmen of doubtful morality.

HOROYA: What do you mean by a trade balance in difficulty? Is there a deficit?

M. Oumar Khebet: You are right to ask this question. To judge from the figures without analyzing them, this statement might seem paradoxical, because the trade balance of Guinea has always showed a surplus, particularly since 1979.

For example, this surplus came to about 3 billion sylis in 1979, reaching about 4.5 billion sylis the following year. And from 1980 to 1983, the surplus ranged between 1,717,000,000 and 4,563,000,000 sylis at the end of 1983.

HOROYA: Mr Minister, aren't these surpluses substantial?

M. Oumar Khebet: Yes, but what must not be forgotten is that these surpluses were due basically to exports of ore products (aluminum and bauxite) by the mining companies, especially the mixed firms (Friguia and the CBG [Guinea Bauxite Company]). Now as you know, export income from these mining products is not available to the government of Guinea, at least the greater portion thereof. This is the explanation of the difficulty we are having in financing our imports.

HOROYA: What is the origin of these difficulties?

M. Oumar Khebet: First of all, there is strong and increasing pressure being exerted on imports because of the constant increase in the country's requirements where equipment and goods of all sorts produced abroad are concerned. At the same time, exports have continued to decline since our country won independence, such that at the present time, the country is exporting almost nothing other than mining products and, I reiterate, a very small fraction of the foreign exchange income from these products is available to Guinea.

HOROYA: This is then a very dark picture. But how did we get to this point?

M. Oumar Khebet: I am not darkening the picture at all. I am only setting forth for you, very imperfectly, the sad reality for this sector.

When it comes to how we got to this point, I will not go too far into this until a complete study of it is made. But I think I can even now tell you that the continuing decline in our exports (farm products) is the main explanation for the fact that the producers' efforts are not well enough compensated. And very often this provides no encouragement for producing beyond one's consumption needs.

As to the merchant who must market the farm surpluses for consumption and export, he too lacks sufficient incentive for the activities in which he engages. It is not only that the officially established price does not allow him to buy products from the producers, for even when he succeeds in doing so, after much effort and ingenuity, export income in foreign exchange offers him no incentive. Under such conditions, one could hardly imagine a different development in our foreign trade. To all this must be added the fact that state trade, which as you know was trade by government officials, was incapable of producing other results.

HOROYA: In all of your explanation you have not talked about the currency. Does this mean that it plays no role here?

M. Oumar Khebet: This is an excellent question. But I think that the answer should be left to the currency experts--my colleagues in finance, banking and insurance. However, surprisingly, the prices of all goods in terms of sylis have increased from year to year, while the price of foreign exchange has remained the same. Under these conditions, one cannot see why the merchant would want to export to obtain foreign exchange the value of which in sylis is laughable.

HOROYA: Mr Minister, you have talked at length about our heritage. It is a fact that this is of keen interest to everyone. However, what would interest us more is the steps you have planned to take to correct the situation. What can you tell us in this connection?

M. Oumar Khebet: As you know, all the departments, including foreign trade, are currently working at the task of recovery.

Where we are concerned, the steps to be taken are numerous and varied. They will be oriented above all toward encouraging the producer to produce more toward encouraging the merchant to export. With this in view, and to implement the proclamation of the CMRN on the subject of liberalization, we plan to make foreign exchange income from exports of interest to exporters. The portion of the foreign exchange which will be returned to them is under study at present, and the corresponding laws are being drafted.

Where the producer is concerned, we hope for an increase in foreign exchange income resulting from the incentive measures adopted to benefit producers. This will contribute to improving supplies of heavily consumed articles from producers substantially. Nor should we forget that the launching of undertakings resulting in the installation of the army in power and the veritable explosion of joy which hailed this event also serve as incentives to producers.

HOROYA: You have also mentioned the personnel surplus. What do you plan to do in this connection?

M. Oumar Khebet: This question is of interest, I think, to all the departments and even the entire nation. A general line of action on the government level is under study. What is certain is that the recovery desired by all will involve sacrifices.

HOROYA: Mr Minister, what do you plan to do with a view to foreign trade recovery, in particular in getting rid of the unscrupulous businessmen of whom you spoke earlier?

M. Oumar Khebet: First of all, we plan to reestablish and see to strict observance of the rules governing invitations to bid. For it is the systematic violation of these rules which opened the doors of our foreign trade sector to all sorts of adventurers and unscrupulous businessmen.

Moreover, while we have proclaimed our firm determination to cooperate with all on the basis of mutual interests, we are henceforth resolved to make a careful selection of our partners, in order to deal only with those among them who are the most serious and whose morality is beyond question. To this end, the requirements for inclusion on the lists of Guinea's suppliers will be made stricter, as will those for the granting of approved import-export merchants' and trade representatives' cards. The legal texts for this purpose are being drafted and will be submitted to the government for approval.

HOROYA: Mr Minister, how do you plan to organize contacts with producers, specifically?

M. Oumar Khebet: You must already know that all of the government officials are to travel throughout the country to make contact with the people. In this connection, all aspects of national life, and production in quality and quantity in particular, will be discussed.

In any case, we are optimistic about the future of our country.

HOROYA: Are you not planning for the appointment of an interministerial committee on foreign trade?

M. Oumar Khebet: It is a fact that coordination is essential. However, it will take whatever form the government decides. Practical steps have already been taken to bring all of the institutions responsible for promoting Guinea's foreign trade under our ministry.

HOROYA: Mr. Minister, everyone knows that the Chamber of Commerce of Guinea, which was recently created, was, paradoxically, assigned to the prime minister under the preceding government. Have steps been taken to link it with the Ministry of Foreign Trade?

M. Oumar Khebet: A study is under way on the government level to give back to each department its full authority, which will enable it to play its role.

HOROYA: Thank you, Mr Minister.

5157

CSO: 3419/692

**ROLE OF SMALL, MEDIUM ENTERPRISES IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Conakry HOROYA in French 17 May 84 p 3

[Interview with Capt Mamadou Pathe Barry, minister of small and medium enterprises and handicrafts, by Papa Saless Camara; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, the installation of the National Armed Forces in government was a healthy step welcomed by the people of Guinea. You are today in charge of one of the most vital sectors in the country's economy, small and medium enterprises and handicrafts. In his general program speech, the chief of state stressed this sector in particular. Could you explain the goals assigned your ministry in this connection?

[Answer] Given the importance of the role small and medium industrial enterprises are called upon to play in the process of the economic and social development of our countries, it seems to me basic that this sector should be the focus of an effort at synthesis capable of subsequent integration in the general development policy for Guinea.

This policy, in my view, has not in the past assigned small and medium industrial enterprises a priority consistent with the contribution they are however capable of making to national production, employment and savings. It is true that under the old regime, there was often talk of development of the small enterprises. But I am sorry to have to tell you that these actions were not followed by the political will and effort at real motivation which must serve as a basis for establishing the necessary foundations in order to maintain the spirit of initiative and development among business promoters. For my part, I believe that the state, based on the realities in the country, can seek a balance between the contributions of the administration, large enterprise and PME [small and medium-sized businesses] sectors, assigning them the place they merit in the structures and programs for action. If the leading role it merits is not assigned the PME sector, these businesses are in danger of being limited to a purely passive role, as was the case in the past.

I believe that it was necessary for me to provide this little explanation in order to help various groups to understand the efforts which the Military Committee for National Recovery (CMRN) and the government have launched and intend to pursue with a view to the effective advancement and active dynamization of small and medium enterprises in Guinea.

To return to your question, to wit the goals assigned my ministry, I must tell you that since I took office, I and the cadres in the department have

pursued tasks of restructuring and reorganization which were essential and urgent with a view to better adaptation to the new development policy.

The Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises and Handicrafts is the public body entrusted with organization, advancement and coordination of all activities for the development of the existing PME with private status, and those to be established throughout our national territory.

In this connection, its duties are, among other things:

- To survey all the existing PME;
- To ensure consistency between the projects approved and the priorities and goals of the national plan;
- To make the studies required in order to determine the activity sectors in which the establishment of PME and handicraft units can be efficient in terms of the national economy;
- To aid developers in seeking and arranging the financing in local currency and foreign exchange needed for the execution of their projects;
- To supervise the use of the credit granted to the PME and to check on the repayment deadlines; and
- To seek foreign partners, etc.

[Question] There must certainly be priority sectors for the activity coming under your department.

[Answer] Priority enterprise status can be granted to small and medium enterprises and handicraft workers engaged in the following sectors:

- Farm food products
- Household articles
- Construction and equipment materials enterprises
- Packaging articles
- Textiles and garment-making
- Handicrafts
- Production and service cooperatives and companies.

Thus, as is the case in all the other sectors, the approval of private enterprises or establishments engaged in or desiring to be engaged in one of the above-mentioned sectors comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises and Handicrafts.

[Question] Mr. Minister, apart from the priority sectors you have just mentioned, are there perhaps other sectors of activity under the jurisdiction of your ministry?

[Answer] Indeed there are. And I must stress particularly that they are no less important in that they also, and efficiently, contribute to dynamizing our national economy. They include, for example:

--The home furnishings sector, and

--The miscellaneous sector, such as traditional fishing and auto mechanics.

[Question] In connection with the approval your ministry grants, are there requirements to be met and procedures specified?

[Answer] Of course! The approval of private enterprises and establishments involving Guinean citizens or foreigners comes under the jurisdiction of my ministry.

However, Guineans in partnership with foreigners must control at least 51 percent of the capital shares.

Investors who submit an investment program along with certain compulsory documents may obtain approval and benefit from the legal and fiscal system for the PME in Guinea.

I might add, moreover, that the return of the approval document is conditional upon the establishment of a capital account in a Guinean bank.

[Question] Mr Minister, you head a recently created department. Thus your establishment is very young. I know that it is not easy, if not impossible, to undertake an assessment now of the work already accomplished under your leadership, when it is understood that you were the humble heirs of a sick and disturbed economy. But I would like to take the liberty here to ask you to make an early evaluation of the first reactions encountered by your ministry since the proclamation of the free enterprise policy by the CMRN.

[Answer] As you know, the PME play a capital role in the economic development plans of the majority of our developing countries. In opting for a totally open policy and in proclaiming the free enterprise system in Guinea, the CMRN hopes to incorporate all of the citizens and all of the foreigners, whether resident in Guinea or not, in the process of accelerated development which began just after the happy events of last 3 April.

It should be stressed that since that time, our ministry has already received 30-some applications for approval from numerous Guinean private promoters and foreign industrialists who want to establish factory complexes, plants and specialized enterprises in various sectors in Guinea.

Apart from the Guinean businessmen who have already come forward, I can mention to you, among others, some French, Spanish and Senegalese financial groups which have already submitted their projects to us for the establishment of factories to produce perfumes, candles and medicines, and for the establishment of a book and periodicals shop and a project design and financing bureau. There is also a possibility that a plant for the production of bouillon concentrates, known as Maggi cubes, as well as a number of other industrial units, will be built.

We hope to facilitate the work of all of these promoters and to develop good and trusting relations with them. We think that this preliminary step is necessary in order to motivate businessmen and ensure a greater awareness

within our people concerning the role the PME play in the creation of job opportunities and speeding up the growth of our national economy.

[Question] Mr Minister, one last question. We are now witnessing the launching of a veritable diplomatic campaign, since Guinea will henceforth have an open-door policy toward all countries or international bodies ready to make a contribution. Within the specific framework of your department, then, do you plan activities within the context of international cooperation?

[Answer] Although we have not yet taken any official steps in this direction, I think that such organizations as the ILO, the UNDP [UN Development Program], the UNIDO [United Nations Industrial Development Organization], the International Trade Center, the Economic Commissions, etc. can be invited to make their contributions. For example, the UNIDO, which has the task of "encouraging and speeding up the industrialization of the developing countries," can respond to any request for technical cooperation in all industrial sectors submitted to it by our ministry on behalf of the Guinean government.

I draw your attention to the fact that two credit lines are available to the PME on the departmental level. They were obtained by means of contracts signed with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the International Development Association (IDA).

I believe that aid from the international bodies for the advancement of the Guinean PME can also be provided in the following ways:

--Collaboration within the framework of seminars and symposiums organized on various subjects pertaining to the advancement of the PME;

--Making the publications of these international organizations available to our ministry;

--Designation of experts to draft plans for the creation of a research and businessmen's training institute; and

--Finally, undertaking the implementation of special programs for the training of PME officials and the executive directors entrusted with the organization of the PME.

In conclusion, I would like to add that since the small and medium enterprises are a highly innovative sector also characterized by major undertakings, it is desirable that the press, radio and television, by way of publicity support, help us, as the need now exists to stress the importance of small industries in our national economy, by means of periodic broadcasts dealing with this sector.

I believe that such programs would contribute to providing our people with a better explanation of the policies designed to consolidate the PME in the realms of production, marketing and services.

LEADERS COMMENT ON PARTY MEMBERSHIP, USE OF FUNDS

MB051754 Blantyre Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 5 Jun 84

[Text] A number of party leaders have addressed meetings in some parts of the country, urging people to continue working hard in both party and development activities.

The member of parliament for Karonga South, Mr (Kafirangachi Nyirenda), addressing a public meeting at the (Ndala) area party branch in the Karonga District, called on the people to continue working hard in the field, which is the backbone of the country. He also called on the people to continue maintaining the peace and calm and law and order now prevailing in the country. The member of the parliament for Karonga Center, Mr (Robinson Kalukeshia), speaking when he addressed self-help leaders and village headmen in the area of Chief (Chungu) in the district, appealed to the people to continue to cooperate in all self-help projects in their areas. He said that development work could only be successful if the people were united and hardworking by taking advantage of financial assistance given to them by government.

In Mchinji, the district party chairman there, Mr (Pholomo Mwale), speaking at a district joint party committee meeting held at Mchinji Secondary School, expressed deep concern at what he called slow progress in party membership renewal in the district. He therefore asked party leaders at all levels in the district to put more effort in party work by conducting party membership renewal campaigns to improve the party's financial standing.

In Rumphi, the district party chairman there, Mr (Hazel Gumbo), has called on party leaders at all levels to refrain from misusing funds realized from the renewal of party membership. Speaking at (Tsetsimuka) and (Gabeluko) primary schools in the area of Chief (Katumgo), Mr (Gumbo) warned that anyone found doing so will be dealt with severely.

CSO: 3400/1067

MALAWI

BRIEFS

SHORT-TERM INVESTORS CRITICIZED--The minister of trade, industry and tourism, Mr Katola Phiri, has said the government will not tolerate short-term investors who leave the country after making exorbitant profits. Addressing the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Malawi in Blantyre this morning, Mr Katola Phiri said Malawi welcomes those investors who are prepared to face the country's development needs. He said his ministry places emphasis on the development of the private industrial sector in order to provide employment opportunities to Malawians, to support agricultural development to meet domestic demands, and to improve the balance of payments and assist localization. Mr Katola Phiri pointed out that the combination of these strategies would lead to a reduction in imported products and help save foreign exchange, while at the same time increase the volume of the country's exports. Earlier, the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Malawi, Mr (Harry Thompson), assured the minister that the chamber would refrain from running business at the expense of the country's economic development. [Text] [MB061724 Blantyre Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 6 Jun 84]

TRANSPORT AGREEMENT WITH SA--LILONGWE.--South Africa and Malawi yesterday signed an agreement to ease transport congestion in the region, the official Malawi news agency Mana reported. The one-year accord between Malawi's International Transport Company (Mitco) and South African Transport Services would mean improved services and lower costs for many of Malawi's imports and exports including tea, tobacco and fertiliser, Mana said. Mitco general manager, Mr Les Tickton, said Malawi had been forced to divert a large volume of its imports and exports to South Africa's system because of problems on other routes, especially rail links with Mozambican ports Beira and Nacala. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jun 84 p 9]

NO MNR BASE--Malawi will not authorize the Mozambican MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] guerrillas to install bases on its territory, Transportation Minister Edward Bwanali stated on 23 March after spending a week in Mozambique. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 74, May 84 p 28] 8946

CSO: 3419/660

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER GAYAN INTERVIEWED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 4 May 84 pp 1, 3, 5

[Text] What is the present state of Mauritian diplomacy and what are its major features? For several years, LE MAURICIEN has been closely following "foreign policy," with which both the image that the country projects overseas and certain specific national economic interests are associated. Through regular interviews with various officials of our diplomatic corps over the years, LE MAURICIEN has tried to maintain public interest in this important aspect of government action. We believe that the time has now come to reassess the situation. Through various domestic and international initiatives and through Mauritian reaction to events which have changed certain features of our region, we are actually witnessing the establishment of a diplomacy that differs more and more from that practiced under the MMM-PSM [Mauritian Socialist Party] administration. How is it different? This is what LE MAURICIEN asked Foreign Affairs Minister Anil Gayan. He answers our questions below.

[Question] Some reports published in the press suggest that there are certain differences of opinion within the government regarding Mauritian foreign policy and that your personal position as head of the Mauritian diplomatic corps is even precarious. What is the real situation?

[Answer] First of all, I believe that it is necessary to refute all of the current rumors that I am going to resign as foreign affairs minister and head of Mauritian diplomacy. At this stage, I have no intention of resigning.

As for my dismissal, that is a prerogative of the prime minister, but he has led me to understand that there is no problem and that he does not intend to dismiss any of his ministers. But there are also other rumors that there are differences of opinion between Sir Gaetan Duval and myself regarding the actual conduct of our foreign policy. That isn't true. I believe that pragmatism is one of the major principles determining foreign policy. We are in agreement on that point. There is probably a certain subtle difference of opinion regarding our relations with certain countries.

The big bone of contention is definitely South Africa. In this regard, I wish to say frankly that one country cannot refuse to speak to another country. All countries must have ways to communicate with all other countries. Even during wartime, there are always ways to communicate. With the changes that have taken place in South Africa and in the area of South Africa, it is necessary to move in the same direction. But before making such a move, the great foreign policy principle that "the flag follows the trade" must also be kept in mind. Our balance of trade with South Africa is unfavorable. It must be corrected before we can talk about other matters. For us, the big problem with South Africa is still its policy of apartheid, but I believe that the changes currently underway within the country will help to eliminate the system of apartheid.

I think that Mauritius cannot exist isolated from South Africa. We are part of the same region. As minister of foreign affairs, I am not opposed to the idea of maintaining contacts with South Africa, either directly or indirectly, at the government level, because geographic realities cannot be ignored, just as we cannot ignore the fact that South Africa is a great power, both economically and militarily. But it is my opinion that certain principles must be respected; our foreign policy must be based on dignity. We will therefore deal with other countries on an equal footing and we will not give in to overly facile temptations.

[Question] As foreign affairs minister, do you believe that we should accept South Africa's offer of 300 million rands?

[Answer] I am not aware of such an offer. South Africa itself has borrowed money on the world market. Is a country that borrows money going to lend out money?

[Question] In principle, should we accept South African money?

[Answer] I believe that money doesn't have a bad odor. We must take a pragmatic approach. If you are having problems and someone claiming to be your friend wants to help you, who are we to say no?

[Question] You aren't opposed to the idea of a line of credit with South Africa?

[Answer] Our balance of trade with that country must first be corrected.

[Question] Would you be opposed to opening a trade mission in South Africa?

[Answer] We are not against the private sector opening a commercial office.

[Question] In your view, under what circumstances would it be possible for the Mauritian Government itself to be represented in South Africa?

[Answer] When Namibia becomes independent. When the process of change within South Africa has begun.

[Question] Thus there is more a difference of style rather than a difference of opinion regarding the content of our foreign policy between yourself and the deputy prime minister?

[Answer] I believe that is the way to put it.

[Question] It has always been said that a country's diplomacy bears the mark of the person directing it. To what extent do the positions which you have taken here and overseas reflect a consensus within the government and what is your personal contribution to the orientation of this policy in relation to the prime minister and deputy prime minister?

[Answer] I believe that a foreign policy is part of a country's whole economic strategy. It cannot be dissociated from economic, industrial and trade policy. It is an instrument for helping the country to solve some of its problems. Mauritian foreign policy is focused mainly on strengthening our economy in relation to other countries.

What is our big problem in the immediate future? Unemployment. How can foreign policy help the island of Mauritius to solve this problem? By adopting a position that is very pragmatic and which does not frighten possible investors. We will no longer use language that is too ideological because, right or wrong, that alarms people. As head of the diplomatic corps, I think that the language to be used in our relations with investors and other countries should be very appropriate. For some time we have witnessed a renewal of interest among investors.

Secondly, we should adopt a certain policy of conduct focused mainly on Mauritian interests. These interests necessarily require us to take a prudent approach, which should be expressed in moderate terms, in a language that is accepted by many countries, a language with which they can agree. This morning I met with the Mauritian charge d'affaires to Japan, who told me that when Tokyo analyzes the foreign policy positions taken by Mauritius, the reaction is favorable. This was not the case before because of the ideological positions which the country was taking. Everything that Libya, Algeria or overly progressive countries said was correct, even if it wasn't in the interest of Mauritius.

I have made a list of the country's fundamental interests: unemployment, trade and improvement of our relations with countries that have traditionally helped us. I believe that this policy will bear fruit. Many delegations across the political spectrum are coming to Mauritius, because we want to deal with all countries on an equal footing. We are also receiving aid from the United States. But there is also a delegation that has left for the Soviet Union to make a survey of the ship which that country has offered us. You can see that we are not putting all our eggs in the same basket. I believe that our interests require a certain flexibility in our ideological positions.

[Question] Is this also reflected in our votes in the United Nations?

[Answer] We will henceforth adopt a moderate line in international forums. We have also adopted a moderate position in our votes in the United Nations as well. No startling positions have been taken because that doesn't help anyone. The great powers are meticulously studying all of the positions taken by small countries, particularly in the United Nations. Mauritius is too small to act like a great power.

[Question] Have you instructed our UN representative to vote differently on certain specific issues?

[Answer] On certain political issues, yes. In the case of Nicaragua, for example, we have asked our representative to adopt a more moderate position.

[Question] Would you describe Mauritius as a moderate member of the OAU?

[Answer] Definitely as a moderate. We maintain contacts with both groups, moderates and progressives.

When I was in the OAU through the Council of Ministers, in view of our position on the POLISARIO Front I took part in meetings held by so-called progressive countries, but I made them understand that although we would support the POLISARIO Front, we would support the OAU first of all. Regardless of the reason cited, we will not risk a break-up of the OAU over the POLISARIO issue. Africa must come before everything else.

[Question] Is this a way to implement a policy of making Mauritius the "Switzerland of the Indian Ocean," of having it maintain a "low profile"?

[Answer] For the time being, a "low profile" is producing results. And we will continue to adopt this "low profile" as long as it proves useful, because we have no expansionist ambitions in the Indian Ocean. We will never be a major military power. We will probably be an important economic power in this part of the world and it is in that direction that we will proceed. We want to strengthen the country's economic position, to make it a center for international services, a small Hong Kong in this part of the world. We must start paving the way right now, because we have a clear vision of what we can achieve. I believe that the economic role that we will play will increase our influence internationally. An ideological policy will not provide us with that role. If we become an economic power in this part of the world, our role will inevitably become more important.

[Question] Then you believe that Mauritius should follow a less ambitious policy in comparison to the previous government, which thought that Mauritius had a great role to play in Africa and the Third World?

[Answer] I think so. But we aren't going to neglect Africa and the Third World. We will be an active part of the Third World and the Nonaligned Movement. We are not a political power. We have a vote in the United Nations, as does the United States, but our vote does not carry the same weight. If we become an economic power, our political power will also be more influential. Economics comes before politics. Before, we leaned toward the political aspect, which ruled out the economic aspect. Today we are doing the opposite.

[Question] Since Mauritian economic interests are closely linked to the West and since the government's current economic approach is aimed at greater co-operation with the West, could it be said that the official policy of non-alignment is giving way to positions that are decidedly more pro-Western?

[Answer] Attention must be given to global foreign policy. Our major trading partner is still the West. I believe that we will be linked to Western countries economically and commercially for many more years to come. That doesn't mean that we will adopt all Western positions in advance. We will analyze each specific issue to determine whether that issue is in the country's interest. For the time being, it is in our interest to trade with the West. But we are still a member of the Nonaligned Group and we are not going to become a satellite of either the Soviet Union or any other country. We will make a national decision on each issue and, for the time being, our national position is dictated by economic problems.

[Question] Are you satisfied that this foreign policy is providing some benefit to the country?

[Answer] I will give you one single example: Monneron Hill. Today we have four bids for developing the Ruparel Project, either to eliminate it completely and build another building, or to build on the existing structures. Have we previously seen so many industrialists coming to Mauritius? Have we previously seen so much interest in Mauritius displayed by all powers? Australia is opening a mission, and not for nothing either. There are many countries that want to open missions in our country. If we agree to this in certain cases, in other cases we should be very cautious, because we are a very vulnerable country. We have had to make certain decisions concerning Libya, for example. That was in the national interest. It was also a destabilizing factor for the whole country. I know that this has borne fruit in the case of Saudi Arabia, although our relations with the two countries were not directly linked. Following the expulsion of the Libyans, we were no longer perceived in Saudi Arabia as a communist country, but rather as a moderate country that thought of its own interests above all and one that would not permit itself to be led by any foreign country.

Supporting too blatantly certain countries that destabilize other countries does not help us. Under the MMM-PSM regime, why wasn't there any foreign affairs delegation sent to Saudi Arabia? Was that in the national interest? I will answer the question. We went to Saudi Arabia because that country represents a huge outlet for our trade and a very rich reservoir for our tourism. We made every effort to obtain access rights to Jeddah for Air Mauritius. I believe that we will be much more present in that region in the future.

[Question] What are your hopes regarding this access to the Arab world? Can we reasonably expect concrete results?

[Answer] In the case of trade and tourism, definitely. In the case of the contacts established with Saudi Arabia, there is a huge market for tourists. There are not only the Arabs, but also that large market of managerial personnel

whose travel expenses are borne by the companies that employ them. We will capitalize on our campaign during the winter months in Europe in order to attract as many tourists as possible to our country. They have a lot of money. This isn't mass tourism, which we aren't going to encourage. This is selective tourism, which is apt to provide us with a lot of foreign exchange. There are several hotel managers in Saudi Arabia who want to have a branch in Mauritius. The Arabs do not have the same customs as Mauritians or Europeans. We must give them what they want. Some sheiks have displayed interest in building hotels in Mauritius. I believe that we can provide them with all the necessary facilities to make their approaches a reality. The Middle East is definitely the area to which we should devote the maximum effort.

[Question] And the other Arab countries?

[Answer] Hopes are not as great in the case of the other Arab countries. There has been a recession in the Arab world as well. They are not spending as much on large development projects. There is in particular, for workers, a future concerning maintenance projects.

[Question] There is still quite a lot of disappointment over the rather small number of Mauritians emigrating. What is actually the situation? What can we reasonably hope for?

[Answer] There are about a hundred of them departing from time to time. The Arab countries will take a good number of our workers, but there will not be a mass exodus of Mauritian workers to that area, not because there isn't any potential, but because Mauritius doesn't have people qualified to do that kind of work, for which they need a semiskilled labor force. Now that we have the Central Training Office, we must start training people for maintenance projects.

[Question] But there had been talk of thousands of potential outlets....

[Answer] Not from me!

[Question] Then you don't believe that there will be mass emigration?

[Answer] No.

[Question] Which brings us back to again looking for solutions in Mauritius?

[Answer] Absolutely!

[Question] Do you think that we are heading toward a spectacular industrial development?

[Answer] For the time being, it isn't as spectacular as we would have liked, but based on the number of investors coming to Mauritius and who have expressed a desire to build their own buildings, and based particularly on the doubts about the fate of Hong Kong in 1997, the time is favorable for attracting to Mauritius as many investors as possible from Hong Kong and Taiwan, for it should

not be forgotten that Mauritius is one of the most technologically advanced countries in the Asian southeast. In order to be present in the technological world, we must acquire the latest technology, without neglecting the textile industry, which provides many jobs.

When I talk about Hong Kong, I am also talking about tourist development. For there are people from Hong Kong and Macao who have come to Mauritius to build hotels. Macao is also important. For what has happened to Hong Kong will probably happen there as well. We must attract as many people as possible from the two areas.

I believe that there will be 500,000 tourists annually until 1990. The number of hotel rooms must be tripled.

[Question] Won't 500,000 tourists pose a significant social problem?

[Answer] No. Those who will be able to pay for their airline tickets to Mauritius will represent a category of people who will not pose any social problem for the country and the 500,000 tourists will be staggered over a 12-month period.

[Question] How do you explain the fact that the number of tourists has stagnated at around 125,000 for the last 3 years?

[Answer] Because there hasn't been any hotel construction. Existing hotels have not been enlarged. It was only recently that Club Mediterranee was enlarged. The Maritim and Merville hotels will soon have additional rooms. There will be a resurgence of tourism in Mauritius. Air Mauritius has contributed to this. The company has begun service to Zurich, on which it will lose several million roupies, but which will help to fill hotel rooms during the slack period. Presently there are no available hotel rooms, even though we are in a slack period. Thus this is a cooperative project. When we talk about "tourism," we must also realize that with the changes taking place in southern Africa, with the rapprochement between South Africa and Mozambique, and with the investments which South Africa is making in the hotel industry in that country, all of this will pose a problem for us. Perhaps the problem will arise only in 5 or 10 years; this is why we must start developing a clear vision of what tourism will be like in 10 years.

[Question] Will Mozambique be an important rival for Mauritius?

[Answer] As the minister in charge of tourism, I will have to think about this. I have thought that our tourist revenue must be improved. What does Mauritius have to offer? The only thing that I see is a paradise for shopping. We must therefore have a "free port." There are millions of Indians who travel to Singapore just to shop. They don't go there for anything else. I believe that we can attract those people to Mauritius. I don't believe that there will be any implications for our finances because this is not a market that already exists. This will be a new market. When there is this "free port," many more people will come and many more services will be in operation. Which will have a snowball effect on the economy.

[Question] What is the government's position in this regard? Has the principle for this been accepted?

[Answer] This is a personal idea. But I believe that the principle has been accepted.

[Question] Is it possible to achieve this with 500,000 people?

[Answer] Yes, if you have large hotels. I believe that in Port Louis there must absolutely be a large five-star hotel with a large "convention center," "duty-free shopping" and restaurants whose service has been improved. I can't accept that a capital such as Port Louis should stop functioning after 4 pm.

[Question] What are your hopes with regard to emigration?

[Answer] I believe that there isn't much hope concerning emigration for the present. The major countries still accepting some emigrants continue to be Australia, Canada and the United States, but it is difficult.

[Question] There had been a lot of talk about Africa, Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

[Answer] There isn't any talk of emigration as such. There is especially talk of employment contracts almost everywhere, as in Saudi Arabia, etc. The potential for Africa exists, but safety is still a problem in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

I recently had some contact with Ethiopian officials, who are interested in hiring teachers for their schools. When I got into the details, I found out that the teachers would have to work in the bush, where there is no water, electricity and no services. They would have to live in huts. I can't take the political responsibility of telling Mauritians to go live under such conditions.

The potential exists, but conditions aren't right for Mauritians, who are used to a certain standard of living, to agree to so many sacrifices. This is a practical problem. In the case of Mozambique, which is going to make a resurgence, I believe that there is still hope.

[Question] What do you expect from regional cooperation?

[Answer] The fact that an agreement was recently signed with the Seychelles shows that there is a certain political willingness for regional cooperation.

[Question] What is its potential?

[Answer] There is a study now being conducted by the De Chazal du Mee Company. We will be able to judge the potential in the light of that study's results. There is a potential on paper, but it will be necessary to develop services. More frequent air connections and regular shipping services are needed. Without this, there is no way to make such regional cooperation a reality.

[Question] What is preventing Air Mauritius from landing in Madagascar or the Seychelles?

[Answer] Air Mauritius flies to Madagascar, but only once a week. Is that enough? It flies to the Seychelles once a week. This isn't right. I believe that the directors of the three countries' air lines will meet together to improve air service between the islands. I support the notion that if there is air service, there will be traffic. We have to start with air service. I have asked Mr Tirvengadum to make this effort, even if Mauritius has to give a little more than the others in the beginning. It is necessary to do so to clearly demonstrate that we are in favor of regional cooperation.

11915  
CSO: 3419/669

COMMENTATOR SEES COUNTRY READY TO RECEIVE FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jun 84 p 11

[Article by Benjamin Pogrund: "Maputo Gingerly Opens Door to the West"]

[Text] NINE years after independence, the People's Republic of Mozambique is opening the door to Western investors.

"It's a buyer's market. They'll do almost anything to get people from abroad to look at propositions," says a diplomat.

In practical terms, what this means is that regulations controlling foreign investment are to be eased and made more welcoming, an application is in hand to join the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (Opic, which provides insurance for United States businesses investing abroad) and membership is under consideration of the IMF and the World Bank.

Tourism is also being explored.

Of course, the March 16 signing of the Nkomati Accord goes with the new attitude. One immediate effect is that South African businessmen are making regular visits in search of trade.

Underlying these events is a brutally direct assessment by a leading member of the Mozambican Government: "Our economy has been destroyed," he says.

That startling statement to a visitor is borne out by the sight, as depressing as it has been for the past few years, of empty shops in the capital of Maputo — literally empty, offering for sale little more than bottles of hair oil or peri-peri sauce.

Staples such as flour or,

rice are available only with ration cards — and even then are in extremely short supply.

The value of the currency, the metical, is debased because there is so little to buy — the black market rate is said to be 300 for a rand, compared with about 30 at the official rate.

Buildings in the city are often seedy and in need of a coat of paint, buses are scarce and taxis even more so, and holes in pavements go on getting bigger.

The state of the economy is also revealed in the plight of hundreds of thousands in the population of 13-million who face starvation because of drought and lack of food.

The national budget is heavily in deficit and this year, for the first time, Mozambique has asked for a rescheduling of its international debts.

An obvious question is whether the Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the ruling Frelimo party (still taking its name, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, from its successful anti-colonial war) is the prime culprit for the country being flat broke.

The reaction of anti-Marxists will be a strong yes. And indeed, that is exactly the way it is seen

among many South African whites who nostalgically remember their leisured visits to Mozambique to enjoy the sun, the sea and the prawns in the days

when the Portuguese ruled and blacks were kept in their inferior place.

This is not only rejected by a government leader but he argues an entirely contrary standpoint: "We have actually survived because of our controlled and planned economy," he asserts.

"With our problems, no management could have done it any better."

That Frelimo is the author of some of Mozambique's misery cannot be doubted. But the present continues to be fundamentally affected by a combination of historical and geographical factors ... the nearly 500 years of neglect and exploitation by the Portuguese colonialism which ended as recently as 1975; the overnight flight of the vast majority of the 250 000 Portuguese colonials, taking with them their skills and expertise, and leading to the collapse of the internal marketing and agricultural system.

After independence, Mozambique's support for Robert Mugabe in the Rhodesian war drew damaging military retaliation.

Then came drought — which still continues. Early this year, there was Cyclone Domoina's disastrous flooding.

And finally, also as a carry-over from Rhodesia days,

there is the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) which has been murdering, robbing and kidnapping, destroying rural shops and clinics on a wholesale scale, and attacking railway and power lines.

Although South Africa has always denied complicity with the MNR, in the Nkomati Accord it pledged not to support any cross-border violence. More than two months since signing of the accord, MNR terror continues — but deprived of external support it should wither away over the coming months.

So basic is the MNR's role to the country's wellbeing and even survival that the inescapable conclusion is that the widespread violence proved the last straw in beating Mozambique to its knees, leading to it seeking new friendships with the West and to reach an accommodation with South Africa.

Mozambicans do not, however, admit they have changed. It is by way of a national characteristic to deny it. At best, some will say that Mozambique and the United States have both changed their attitudes towards each other, making possible the exchange of ambassadors late last year.

Others declare it isn't so much that Mozambique is now more ready to deal with South Africa or with the US, but that these countries have come to view Mozambique in a different light.

The issue is confused because this latter argument certainly has some merit. The West's attitude towards Mozambique was until recently often over-simple. There was little understanding of the country's independence despite its deep-rooted friendship and trading with the Eastern bloc.

The country tended to be pigeonholed in the West-East conflict as a lackey of the Soviet Union — thus reflecting inadequate appreciation of the national pride and self-belief which has made Mozambique hack out its own Marxist path, and which has caused it, for example, to

reject repeated Soviet requests for Indian Ocean naval bases.

Even now, caution is required in assessing Mozambique's relations with the Eastern bloc. The immediate Western stereotype will be that the Soviet Union and its surrogates have been unable and/or unwilling to pull Mozambique out of its crisis and hence the country is turning away from them.

The fact of the failure is undoubtedly. But the consequences should not be misunderstood. Mozambican leaders say their fraternal relations and trade ties with Eastern bloc countries are healthy and to their advantage and they have every intention of seeking growth.

At the same time, Mozambican denials that they have shifted are equally suspect.

"The rhetoric is changing," a Western diplomat notes. "The government is talking about profit and about investment in the private sector."

Domestically, the country is in several far-reaching ways different from what it was. Even while maintaining itself as a Marxist-Leninist party — with all this means in terms of a one-party state and a blurring of distinction between party and government — Frelimo has shown a high degree of pragmatism and willingness to bend to circumstances.

It is talented at projecting necessity as a virtue.

Some profound policy changes have occurred over the years... in the wake of the settlers' flight, Frelimo declared tens of thousands of houses, apartment blocks and shops as the property of the "people". But with disaster following — untrained people made a mess of the shops — Frelimo switched to offering the shops for cooperatives — and for private owners.

Similarly with the ruins of agriculture. Frelimo propounded the ideal of large-scale State farms. But again, disaster.

So Frelimo has gone off on another tack, praising the merits of peasant — that is, individual — farming.

The gloss is at its thickest in the handling of the Nkomati Accord. There is rejection of any suggestion that it was a victory for South Africa, that the powerful neighbour's mailed fist, applied through the Mozambique National Resistance movement and through economic pressures, drove Mozambique to make friends and to agree also to clamp down on the African National Congress.

No, it is said. Mozambique and South Africa were in contact at the time of independence and the Nkomati Accord simply picks up the thread again.

Other government officials go further, to the extent of hailing the accord as a triumph for socialism and peace. South Africa was forced to sit down and negotiate, they say.

Not everyone subscribes to this sort of euphoria, however. Some accept that circumstances made it impossible to avoid getting into bed with South Africa.

Some people are anxious about how business relations with South Africa will work out; those who have spent their lives in emotional opposition to racism find it hard to swallow the sight of eager South African businessmen calling in search of deals, and they recoil from the prospect that greater numbers of white tourists from across the border will follow.

They are also unhappy that Mozambique, through the Nkomati Accord, has conferred a degree of "respectability" on apartheid South Africa.

But government leaders dismiss negative talk of this kind. They say it is confined to a few intellectual circles. The mass of people, they say, are enthusiastic about the accord because it means the end of being victims of war and the country can now for the first time devote all its resources to development.

"We don't want to be the liberators of South Africa," they insist — adding that Mozambique's priority must be its own national interests.

The official enthusiastic commitment to the Nkomati Accord will please Pretoria

as much as the Reagan Administration officials who played an important part behind the scenes in bringing it about.

For the clear signal from Mozambique is that the accord is not intended as a short-term treaty, to be discarded once better domestic times arrive. Indeed all the indications are that the thrust is aimed at entrenching relations with South Africa so that it will become ever-more difficult for either country to break from the other.

The overriding fact is that Mozambique's "horizons have widened", as a diplomat puts it. How far this might go will be watched with equal interest in Pretoria, Washington and Moscow.

INTENSE PREPARATION NEEDED TO RECEIVE SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISTS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jun 84 p 11

[Text] IT'S too early for South Africans to start packing their bags for holiday trips to Mozambique.

Not that Mozambique isn't eager to put out the welcome mat. It is, and especially after the signing of the Nkomati Accord. But the facilities are lacking — and Mozambique is determined to put matters right as much as possible before letting in tourists on a mass scale.

Meanwhile, Nkomati has already led to a change in the issuing of visas. For the first time in nine years visas can be issued in Maputo and in Johannesburg for travel to the other country.

In Maputo, the trade office which South Africa has always maintained — in colonial times it was the consulate-general — is now headed by Mr Colin Paterson, an official of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The necessary rubber stamps are on order from Pretoria; as soon as they arrive the office will deal with local visa applications. Until now, about 3 000 applications a year have been received and each one has had to be referred to Pretoria for processing.

On the South African side, Mozambique's labour office in Johannesburg is being reorganised to handle commercial matters and visas.

But it is still early days. The first problem remains the security situation with the Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) still at large in many parts of the country, making travel dangerous.

"We have to be optimistic, however, and obviously we plan for the future," says British-born Mr George Welch, director of the National Tourist Company.

Going beyond this problem, however, the facilities to which South Africans are accustomed are run down. The Gorongosa game park is in fact unusable at present — the MNR razed the camp.

The fabled Polana looks as graceful as ever. Under Portuguese management it calls itself a five-star hotel and charges about R55, without meals, for a single.

But it's distinctly seedy, many of the staff are surly, using the telephone demands an excess of time and patience, and hot water is irregular (it apparently depends on the supply of coal from South Africa for the old boilers and whether foreign currency is available to pay for it).

Slowly, however, improvements are being made. Meanwhile, the work that was interrupted nine years ago at independence on the 360-roomed Four Seasons hotel along the coast has been resumed.

This four-star hotel, complete with conference facilities, will be ready in 1986, under a new name.

For the tourist, the simple problem is that once outside the grounds of the Polana, life can get very basic. There is hardly any food to be had, and it is difficult to move around because of the lack of public transport.

In the countryside at large, roads are described by Mr Welch as "fair to middling". Petrol, however, is scarce — as can be seen from the queues at Maputo garages. There is also a shortage of mechanics.

But Mr Welch believes emergency medical services in Maputo are now reasonable, and can also be made available elsewhere.

"We just don't have the conditions at the moment to have a massive influx of South African tourists," he stresses.

But the best possible will be done, he adds — and that, in the immediate future, means starting with "small special interest groups" such as fishermen — the sort of people who are not interested in sophisticated places like Durban or the Seychelles, but who have "simpler tastes".

The famous fishing places in Mozambique are being lined up...such as Inhaca island, near Maputo, and the Bazaruto archipelago in the north.

Some holiday resorts, like Santa Carolina, 200km south of Beira, are being made comfortable.

An hotel school is being opened later this year, and the central bank is examining recognition of credit cards. At present travellers must revert to pre-plastic days.

For the future, Sun International is said to be looking at the possibility of an hotel and casino on Inhaca.

Mozambique has a lot going for it — the 2 500km coastline, with a wealth of swimming, diving and fishing, the serenity of Lake Niassa in the interior, Gorongosa and the beauty of many parts of the country. But in the favourite phrases of Mozambicans: "patience . . . wait".

CSO: 3400/1083

## ADDITIONAL IRRIGATION TO INCREASE GREEN ZONE PRODUCTION

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 18 May 84 p 3

[Article by Paulo Maduco]

[Text] Efforts yielding increased water production will be pursued through Project IR-4, which comes within the new program for reactivating the efforts of the Beira City Green Zone Office. This is a measure designed to increase food production, and will involve mainly the drainage of some housing areas for agricultural use.

This work, which also comes within the context of technical aid to the family, cooperative and private sectors, involves not only the drainage of certain areas for farming purposes, but also the establishment of an irrigation system for the various sectors in the provincial capital of Sofala.

A source in the administration of this project told DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE that one of its purposes is also to safeguard the growing conditions for many crops, as well as to allow the truck gardeners and peasants in the province of Sofala to pursue agricultural activities in various housing zones in the near future.

"Our work is now basically oriented toward the green zones. Currently, one of our great concerns is the development of production conditions for the various sectors, family, cooperative and private, specifically, all with a view to increasing food production," the source in the administration of Project IR-4 told our reporter.

He said that all of the sectors included in Project IR-4 have already been informed about the work currently in progress. Also, all of the technicians have been assigned to the various sectors of farm activities where specific activity in this connection is developing.

### Developing Water Resources

An important aspect to which this source in Beira referred has to do with the launching of a series of activities in order to dynamize water production in the work of the green zones, such as to guarantee the irrigation of the crops, particularly the garden crops which need more water.

"Another of the tasks we are giving priority in this stage is increasing water resources, through the drainage of some areas for farm use. In addition to the drainage work, we also plan to provide dams to retain the water which will be used in the irrigation of some crops," our source stressed.

In addition, it is important to stress that this is the first time water projects have been defined as "current priorities," which can contribute immensely to food production. This fact also represents a major strategy in combatting the drought which has contributed to reducing water reserves.

It should further be noted that, with the same purpose of increasing water resources work in this part of the country, 10 dams were created last year within Project IR-4 in certain sectors and farm cooperatives in Beira and Dondo.

5157  
CSO: 3442/385

MOZAMBIQUE

TRANSPORT, ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT SHIPPED TO CABO DELGADO

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 May 84 p 15

[Article by Paulo Maduco: "Vehicles and Electrical Equipment for Farm Projects"]

[Text] About 20 tons of various electrical equipment and three more IFA trucks are en route to Cabo Delgado to be used in certain farm projects, as well as to transport their products to market. A vessel carrying this equipment and the vehicles is scheduled to sail for Pemba from Beira later today, as planned.

While a part of the material mentioned will be used for expanding the project network of 400 hectares in Cabo Delgado, the balance will be used to provide electrical installations at a livestock complex which includes corrals, pigsties and aviaries. Specifically, plans call for supplying the majority of the infrastructures installed there with energy.

Ghimpau Nicolae, a farm mechanics engineer at the 400-hectare Cabo Delgado project, has told DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE that the equipment and vehicles mentioned are providing a real impetus to crop and livestock development in that province. It was stressed that the arrival of this equipment will coincide with the harvest of some of the farm products, affecting the rice harvest, which began recently in various parts of the country, in particular.

"We have been facing the problem of lack of transportation for a long time. I think that with this contribution, many products can be taken from the rural sector to the cities in a short space of time. In principle, our departure is planned for the 15th, or else the 18th of this month of May. I must also say that, in addition to the vehicles, the electrical equipment will advance some farm projects," according to Ghimpau Nicolae, an engineer at the 400-hectare Cabo Delgado project.

As we reported earlier, major farm projects are under way in the province of Cabo Delgado within the context of the battle against hunger to be pursued throughout the national territory. Where the raising of small and large livestock is concerned, the measure falls within the complex of activities designed to increase meat production to supply the people in that part of the country.

## Excellent 1983-84 Farm Season

Meanwhile, unlike the situation in many other provinces, where various crops were ruined by the burning sun, Cabo Delgado has this year achieved one of the highest farm production levels, above all where grains are concerned. The yields for corn ranged between 3.5 and 4 tons per hectare.

The farm mechanics engineer at the 400-hectare Cabo Delgado project, Ghimpau Nicolae, did not provide any details about the total area for each crop. However, he said that "the 1983-1984 farm campaign has been one of the best, both for grain production, corn and rice in particular, and for cotton." Concerning this latter crop, our source explained that the yields varied between 1,500 and 1,600 kilograms per hectare.

"I cannot provide many details about farm production in the province of Cabo Delgado. However I can state with great conviction that the 1983-84 season has been one of the best. I say this because there was an increase in yields per hectare. For example, not to mention rice, in corn alone we succeeded in harvesting 4 tons for every 10,000 square kilometers," our source stressed.

On the other hand, he argued that it is not possible at this time to specify exact quantities for rice, since the production of this grain in Cabo Delgado was divided into two seasons. "For the time being I cannot make any statement about the total production of rice, since we are still in the midst of the season," he said in conclusion.

5157  
CSO: 3442/385

MOZAMBIQUE

SHRIMP STORAGE FACILITY IN BEIRA COMPLETED

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 18 May 84 p 3

[Article by Arsenio Cruz: "Project Completed, Actual Operation Pending"]

[Text] The EMOPESCA cold storage facility in Beira, the installation of which was recently completed, is expected to be in full operation later this year.

This infrastructure project, located in the port area of Beira, will serve basically for freezing shrimp. It has five cold storage rooms with a capacity of 200 tons each, yielding an overall capacity of 1,000 tons.

This facility is about to begin operation to test its cold storage equipment by freezing fish, our reporter was told by the EMOPESCA director in Beira.

A Dutch business firm called Grenco was responsible for the installation of the cold storage warehouse; this project was financed by the government of Holland.

Also, according to information provided by a construction enterprise official, there are currently problems with regard to sufficient energy and water to commission the cold storage warehouse. The difficulties are such that the cold rooms can only be used for storing shrimp, but not for freezing it, as planned.

Our source informed us, moreover, that in order to solve this problem, plans call for the arrival later this year of suitable equipment for supplying this facility with energy and water.

The installation of the facility took 3 years. Supervision of the project was the responsibility of the TECNIPESCA enterprise.

5157  
CSO: 3442/385

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS--Some of the construction materials production projects, of which there are many in the province of Nampula, concentrated in the rural zones, have already been reported. According to the RM [Radio Mozambique] broadcasting station in Nampula, the development of these projects is designed to minimize the shortages of construction materials and encourage the production of these items based on local resources. These projects are oriented toward the production of roofing and mosaic tile, bricks and lime from local raw materials, making use of certain basic knowledge. Moreover, it is known that the district of Angoche now has proper organization of the production of construction materials, and the development of this production is regarded as very good. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 May 84 p 4] 5157

RICE-HULLING FACTORY--With the ability to handle about 4,000 kilograms per day, the Cabo Delgado rice-hulling factory will be under repair until the coming month of June, following the purchase of certain spare parts, including rubber belts for the bleacher, among other things. These parts will be purchased in Sofala, specifically from its counterpart in the city of Beira, within the context of interregional cooperation and joint effort to eliminate hunger. When the parts are in place, this factory will improve the quality of the rice hulled, and it will also be able to increase the daily production of this grain. The replacement of a part of the equipment in the factory sector is the result of the fact that what is in use is rather antiquated, a factor contributing to a low production and quality level. Another specific aspect of the work of modernization at the Cabo Delgado rice-hulling factory has to do with the results achieved during the 1983-84 farm season, which are regarded as "rather satisfactory." Thus the infrastructure in question should be in a position to meet the local needs, above all in processing rice with hulls into the finished product. [By Paulo Maduco] [Excerpts] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 16 May 84 p 15] 5157

MALE RIVER BRIDGE--A reinforced concrete bridge about 15 meters in length was built over the Male River in the district of Namacurra, province of Zambezia. The people of the Maxixile locality contributed more than 100 meticals for the building of the bridge. In addition to this money, the people contributed voluntary labor days. [Text] [Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 May 84 p 1] 5157

NAMIBIA

ANALYSIS OF WAR SITUATION; LUSAKA AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 11 May 84 p 8

[Article by Michel Bole-Richard: "The War in Northern Namibia: for the South African Military, the Outcome of the Conflict 'Depends 80 Percent on the Politicians'"]

[Text] Windhoek--The South African Foreign Affairs Ministry announced last week that the joint commission that was put in place after the Lusaka agreements on 16 February between South Africa and Angola, had fallen back from Evale to Ongiva, about 35 km north of the Namibian border (LE MONDE, 6-7 May). This was the third and last stage before the complete disengagement of Pretoria's troops. The commission, composed in equal parts of South African and Angolan soldiers (300 each) should, in principle, cross the border as far as Oshikango at the end of the month. Its mission is to sweep from the terrain the presence of the SWAPO underground, in accordance with the Lusaka agreements.

However, the date of the complete withdrawal has not been set. It depends on the speed of the "pacification." Here and now, the Foreign Affairs Ministry indicated in a communique that "the continued presence of SWAPO in that sector was a subject for serious concern."

Since 16 February, 170 guerrillas have been killed in the operational zone, including six or seven killed by the joint commission. Angola having pledged that it would no longer lend aid and assistance to the SWAPO, the latter, deprived of rear bases and logistical support, asked its combatants to infiltrate into Ovamboland (north of Namibia), as testified to, according to the SADF [South African Defense Forces], in documents that were seized. Seven to eight hundred of them crossed the border clandestinely and were behind an outburst of assassination attempts and acts of "terrorism" committed over the last 2 months.

According to a South African military source, it is believed that the number of SWAPO combatants oscillates between 6,000 and 8,000 men. According to Gen Georg Meiring, the commander in chief of the territorial forces in Namibia, half of them had engaged the UNITA rebels, who also occupy a large part of the terrain in the Angolan south, and only a good thousand or so were actually operational in northern Namibia. The South African army hunts them down, but the game is not an easy one in this immense territory, which is hilly, strewn with bushes and thorny. Bushmen trackers locate their traces. When they have been located, helicopters intervene.

However, tracking underground separatists does not always yield the expected results, despite the enormous means at the disposal of Pretoria's army. Almost every year since 1978, South African troops have made massive incursions against SWAPO sanctuaries in Angola. These large-scale operations, whose names have been Protee, Daisy, Reindeer and, the most recent, early in 1984, Askari, have never made it possible to completely eradicate the Namibian fighters. A short while after each occasion, the SWAPO again got itself talked about.

These members of the underground are recruited in very large part from among the Ovambo ethnic group, which represents a little over 50 percent of a Namibian population that is estimated to be about 1.1 million inhabitants for a territory as large as France and Italy combined. The Ovambos are settled on both sides of the Angolan border, which they cross every day. How could these normal moves be prevented?

The South African army is wondering by what means it can make the border impermeable after its disengagement from the Angolan South. According to Maj Charles du Toit, all solutions have been considered, including planting a continuous, uncrossable screen of thorny bushes. None of the solutions has been usable, because of the distances (nearly 800 km) and the movements of people and troops. Will the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] be able, after the withdrawal of Pretoria's soldiers from Cunene province, to prevent the SWAPO sanctuaries from re-forming?

Gen Meiring is counting heavily on Luanda respecting the Lusaka agreements. He believes, on the other hand, that the SWAPO is militarily defeated after more than 6 years of operations which, all told, made about 10,000 victims (850 civilians and 1,000 soldiers including 216 killed in combat since April 1979--the remainder by mines or in accidents, and a little more than 8,000 members of the underground). He states, finally, that the actions attributed to the SWAPO are constantly falling off as the years go by, despite an obvious renewal recently. "We are prepared to win the war," he says, "but this kind of war is only won by military actions. This is also a political, economic and social war. The outcome is 80 percent dependent on the politicians."

One might as well say that this conflict has no military solution despite the presence on the terrain of about 30,000 soldiers, a figure that is contested by the military authorities, who nevertheless refuse to give the slightest hint. It is still necessary to distinguish between the Namibians' own forces, known as territorial forces--since conscription is compulsory in that country for blacks and Metis, unlike South Africa--, and the troops of Pretoria, both being combined under the same command. Gen Meiring talks about 19,000 men, including militia or auxiliary troops, capable of being mobilized quickly.

#### The "Communist Threat"

It is likewise impossible to know the numerical importance of the Koevoet, the special police, who have a reputation for not pulling any punches in the anti-terrorist fight. Because they really are "terrorists," according to Gen Meiring, who explains that the "atrocities" committed are "most often committed by one side alone." By the SWAPO side, whom he accuses "of spreading terror, placing bombs anywhere at all, kidnapping, burning, cutting the feet of cattle,"

whereas, according to him, the "slips" in the army are always the object of "in-depth" investigations and are subject to military justice. He blames the press for not seeing the "unfortunate mistakes" of the soldiers, whereas according to him the ratio is 1 in 10.

The enemy is SWAPO first and foremost, but it is also and above all "communism." At the "bastion," the armed forces headquarters in Windhoek, in the briefing room, elements were brought together to show visitors "red expansionism." Books, journals, photographs and newspapers seized in military operations in Angola "prove" that the "communist threat" is real and that it is at the gates of South Africa.

Maj du Toit explains that indoctrination begins at the age of 3 in the Lubango camps, whence also emanate the adolescents who are sent into Ovamboland to be trained. He denounces the adverse propaganda concerning the Cassinga massacres in May 1978, at the time of the first South African operation in Angolan territory, which according to SWAPO cost the lives of 165 men, 300 children and 294 women, with 200 more men reported missing. Maj du Toit wants to demonstrate by showing documents, that the underground had been informed beforehand of the imminence of the raid and that the women and children had been given shelter.

South Africa knows that it will not be able to come completely to the end of this guerrilla war, despite the blows inflicted on the liberation movement. Moreover, this conflict is very expensive for the Pretoria treasury: according to government sources, 400 to 500 million rands each year (between 2.6 billion and 3.250 billion francs) for military and security expenditures, to which must be added aid amounting to 560 million rands (3.640 billion francs; 1 rand = 6.50 francs). This is why South Africans not only favor, but support the internal political solution represented by the Multiparty Conference to the detriment of the enforcement of UN Resolution 435.

Sam Nujoma, the president of SWAPO, made it known in Lusaka on 4 May that he was ready to meet with the South African authorities, but for the purpose of discussion on the basis of the UN resolution and that, on the other hand, he was not opposed to the presence of the other Namibian political parties at the talks, although he considers them an "anti-SWAPO front." That conference could take place in Lusaka on 11 May. However, no date has been officially set. Another sign of detente is that Willie van Niekerk, the South African administrator for Namibia announced that 54 SWAPO prisoners would soon be released. Finally, the joint commission is soon going to Windhoek and to the Mariental prison south of the capital to study the conditions for freeing the Angolan soldiers. These are so many elements bearing witness to a desire to put an end to this conflict, or at the very least to bring about an effective cease-fire soon. It remains to be seen what price South Africa is prepared to pay in order that Namibia may then become independent.

8946  
CSO: 3419/660

EDITOR OF PERIODICAL: SA HOLDS WHIPHAND

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 29 May 84 p 5

[Article by Jean Sutherland: "SA Holds the Whiphand"]

[Text] NAMIBIANS are not in a position presently to influence the independence process.

This view was expressed by Dr Kenneth Abrahams, Editor of the Namibian Review, recently at a meeting of the Namibia Education Forum.

In a lecture entitled, *From Nkomati to Lusaka – the implications for Namibian Independence*, he gave an extensive analysis of recent regional developments.

"The total strategic situation has altered in a profound and temporarily irreversible way", Dr Abrahams said.

South Africa's complete dominance of the sub-continent, the weakness of the Frontline states, the OAU and the fact the armed struggle had been stifled, meant SA could dictate the scenario for Namibian independence.

And it would not allow any settlement that was not in accordance with its strategic, military and economic interests.

SA clearly opposes UN Resolution 435.

"Their strategy", Dr Abrahams said, "is to

create some sort of government of national unity" which he felt would also include Swapo now they had lost their "sole, authentic" status.

FIRST STEP

The Lusaka talks had been the first step in this direction and the MPC was the vehicle being used by SA to bring about this "pseudo independence".

It was important to understand what was happening in the region, Dr Abrahams continued.

"Destabilisation does not adequately describe what is recognised as a valid, historical process ... expansion in search of markets."

Because of its economic development, SA needed to expand and find markets for its commodities.

He outlined how the transnational corporations had helped SA to develop as a regional sub-centre for capitalistic penetration throughout the southern third of the continent.

Heavy investment by these corporations had not only helped to build up SA, but had contributed to the spread of underdevelopment throughout the neighbouring countries of the region.

These countries were viewed as little more than vast labour reserves, additional sources of inexpensive raw materials and markets for South African industries.

"Nkomati and the other accords have very little to do with non-aggression and good neighbourliness", he said.

"They have everything to do with the expansion of a particular system emanating from and based in South Africa".

To illustrate another effect of this thrust, Abrahams quoted from Ann Seidemann's book, *Outposts of Monopoly Capitalism*, where she writes, "in this historical context the transnational corporations press their governments to collaborate with the South African regime in negotiating moderate solutions, the installation in public office of a few wealthy blacks creating a supportive black middle-class, while leaving the exploitative status quo intact."

BISMARCK

Dr Abrahams also drew a parallel between SA's activities in the subcontinent and what Bismarck did in Germany.

"That what we are witnessing is the unification of the subcontinent as an economic entity and the establishment of total South African hegemony".

He said Bismarck's well-known quote, "It is not by speeches and votes that the great questions of the day will be decided but by blood and iron", could just as easily be attributed to Mr PW Botha or General Magnus Malan.

Turning to Swapo, Dr Abrahams urged those in the vanguard of the independence movement to rethink their strategy in the face of the changed situation and to "exercise correct leadership".

He quoted the example of President Salvador Allende of Chile, whose government had been overthrown in 1973.

He pointed out Allende and those close to him had made major miscalculations because they had acted in terms of a certain political framework and when this framework changed qualitatively, they had no alternative strategy.

"The result of the Lusaka Accord and the establishment of the JMC has been to stifle any further development of the armed struggle for an indefinite period", said Dr Abrahams.

Further, he felt the armed struggle was not a viable option for Namibia.

Apart from geographical factors and the sparseness of the population, the decision by the Frontline states to withdraw overt military aid had made the continuance of the armed struggle an impossibility.

Dr Abrahams called for leadership that would involve the masses of Namibia in discussion and

in participation along a broad front and for community-based action.

Referring to the Lusaka conference, Dr Abrahams said although there had been friction and fighting between the parties, ultimately the elite (the "waserauta") from all these parties would find each other for good, material, class-based interests and form a government of national unity.

This coming together of the elitist forces would only amount to pseudo independence and would come about under extremely disadvantageous conditions for the people of Namibia, he said.

Dr Abrahams' lecture was followed by a lively discussion in which many contrary viewpoints were raised by persons such as Joshua Hoebeb, Niko Bessinger and Anton Lubowski of Swapo, Dr Zed Ngavirue (Swanu/MPC), Adv Fanuel Kozonguizi (AG's office), Mrs Ottolie Abrahams (NIP), Dr Peter Vale of the SA Institute of International Affairs, Tony Weaver - a journalist who was in Lusaka, a number of students and others.

The NEF intends to continue the discussion in Katutura in early June.

FISHING AREAS SAID PLUNDERED BY SOUTH AFRICA, OTHERS

London AFRICA NOW in English No 38, Jun 84 pp 51-53

[Article by Richard Moorsom]

[Text] Namibia's coastal waters encompass the greater part of a fishing ground which ranks amongst the richest in the world. Or rather used to. For all but one of the five major commercial species have been destroyed or severely depleted by reckless overfishing and the chances of recovery are slight while South Africa maintains its grip on the territory. When independence is finally won, Namibia stands to inherit the ruins of one of its greatest natural resources and only manufacturing industry of any size.

Under natural conditions the coastal Benguela Current is a hothouse of marine life. Species are few but enormously abundant, and thus ideally suited to large-scale industrial fishing — the harsh desert coast virtually rules out the artisanal fishing common elsewhere in Africa.

Such marine wealth has inevitably attracted foreign exploiters. Two powerful groups have long since carved up the Namibian fishing grounds between themselves. Inshore, a cartel of South African companies harvests pilchard and anchovy, the main surface-shoaling pelagic species, out of Walvis Bay and rock lobster out of Lüderitz, producing canned pilchard, meal, oil and frozen lobster. It has a near monopoly of catch quotas and factory capacity and most of the tonnage in the fleet of small purse-seiners. Offshore, an armada of distant-water trawler fleets catches and freezes horse mackerel and hake, respectively the main midwater pelagic and deepwater white fish species.

The inshore fishing cartel is a maze of interlocking shareholdings and directorships. Ultimate control is shared amongst a handful of business families and entrepreneurs with strong fishing ties. (A. P. Du Preez, the Ovenstones, the Silvermans) and top industrial and financial

corporations (Sanlam/FVB, Anglo-Vaal, Anglo-American/Liberty Life, Barlow Rand). South African ownership is virtually complete at every level and overseas investment is conspicuously absent. In what little remains outside the cartel, Black Namibian involvement is almost non-existent.

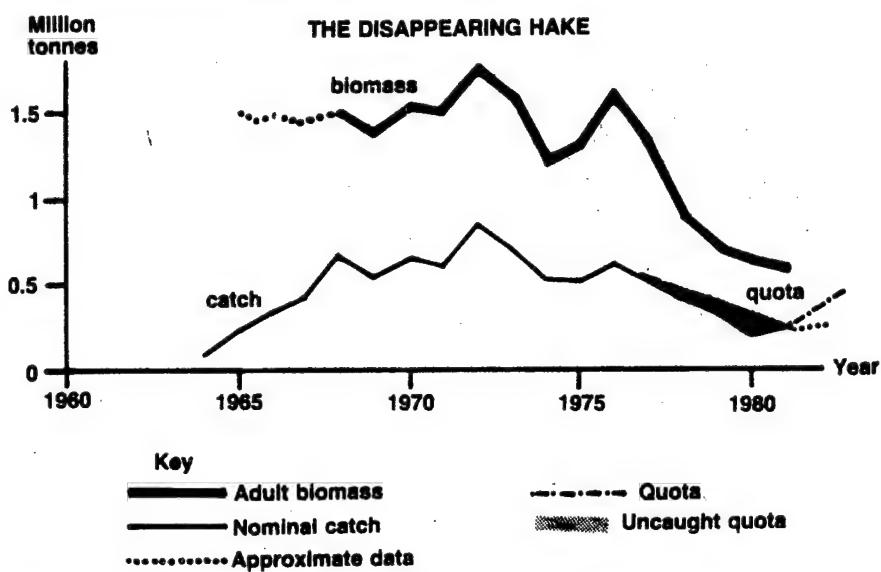
Offshore it is a different story. Unencumbered with national taxes and fishery controls, colonised Namibia's deepwater fishing grounds have provided one of the last great bonanzas in a world of exclusive fishing zones (EEZs). As many as 20 national flags have appeared off the Namibian coast over the past decade. Some of the world's most powerful trawler fleets have been represented, parastatals from Communist nations competing with private companies from Western Europe and the Far East to haul Namibian fish. The Soviet fleet has always been by far the biggest, in 1981 taking well over half the foreign trawler catch. The two other large operators, Spain (18%) and Poland (14%), accounted for nearly a third, the nine others together for less than 15%.

Between them these two groups of foreign exploiters have ruined the best part of Namibia's fish stocks. By the end of the 70s the pilchard had been reduced to less than 2% of its peak (1968) adult biomass and destroyed as a major commercial species. Anchovy had been severely depleted, leaving the shore factories precariously dependent on each year's crop of juveniles. Landings of rock lobster, decimated a decade earlier, were still a quarter of the 60s level; while offshore, hake had fallen alarmingly to 30% of previous abundance. Even though horse mackerel had expanded strongly into the ecological gap thus created, the combined adult biomass of the four fish stocks was still only half its estimated 60s peak.

Competitive industrial fishing has damaged or destroyed fish stocks the world over and Namibia is but one more depressing addition to the list. Worse, on present policies the situation is unlikely to improve before independence, for Namibia lacks that vital instrument of effective resource management, a determined national fishery administration acting in the long-term interests of its people — or at least of its Ministry of Finance.

Responsibility lies squarely with the South African occupation regime. In the inshore fishery, its administration has proved weak and corrupt, and its quotas, in true colonial fashion, continue to reflect the

Overfishing has radically reshaped the pattern of exploitation. With hake scarce, those distant-water operators remaining have fished it only intermittently since 1980 — except, that is, for the large and determined Spanish contingent, which alone accounted for two-thirds of the 1981 catch. Horse mackerel, abundant but low-priced and difficult to market, Western operators have found unprofitable to exploit. For the East European and Soviet fleets, however, it has overwhelmingly become the mainstay. As a result, today these fleets account for some two-thirds of the total haul from Namibian waters and



greed of the companies for short-term profits rather than the advice of its own scientists. The 1981 ban on pilchards was speedily abandoned and the present catch rate of 45-50,000 tonnes a year (35,000 tonnes quota plus bycatch), although a mere 5-10% of the previous level, is virtually killing any chance of recovery.

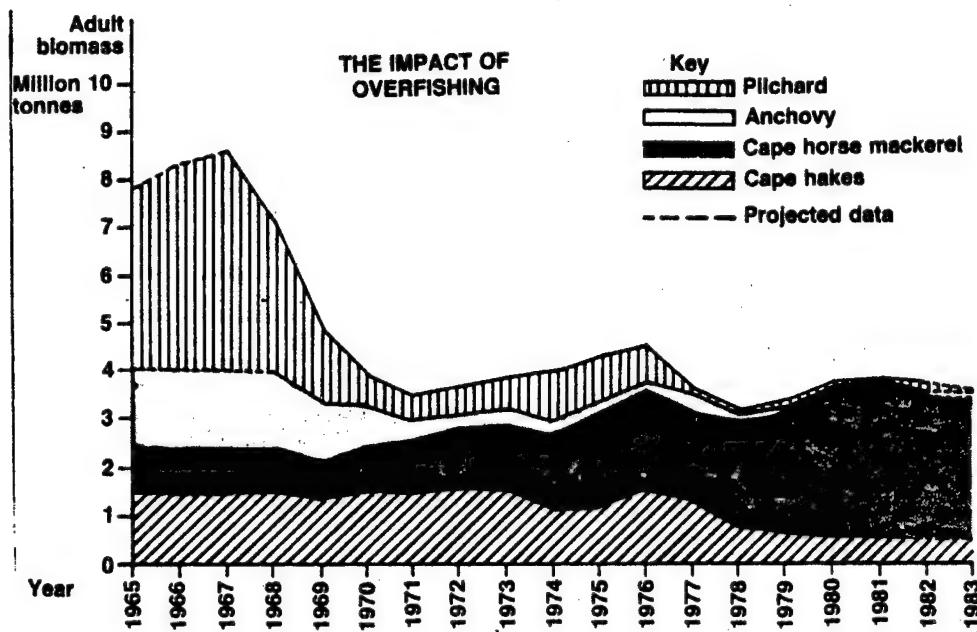
Offshore, the illegal South African presence denies Namibia the 200 sea mile EEZ which an independent government would be entitled to implement in order to bring the foreign fleets to heel — the 1979 EEZ proclaimed from Windhoek has remained a mere propaganda ploy. The international Commission for the South East Atlantic Fisheries (ICSEAF), the regional fisheries convention, has thus been thrust into a management role for which its consensus procedures and the self-interest of its members make it quite unsuited. Falling profit margins have probably done more to save the hake from complete destruction than ICSEAF regulations and quotas, which continue to make little allowance either for recovery or for periods of poor environmental conditions.

85% of a trawler catch which still reaches a massive 1m tonnes a year.

The inshore industry has fared far worse. Fishmeal output is still up to half the volumes of a decade ago, but it is canning which adds value, creates jobs and supports ancillary industries and, despite greatly improved rates of fish utilisation, current output of canned pilchards (1.5-2m cartons a year) is only 15-20% of the level when Namibia was the world's leading exporter.

Not that the South African processing companies have suffered unduly. Their fat profits from the prosperous mid-70s have been siphoned off into farms and property, largely in South Africa, and into the bank accounts of their principals and shareholders. A sizeable part of their plant now grinds profits out of Chilean pilchards and workers instead, while their Namibian operations still yield trading profits of up to 30%.

The real losers have been Black Namibian workers and fishermen. Direct and indirect redundancies have amounted to 6-8000 jobs and crew places, an appreciable number in a small nation with high unemployment and hardly any manufacturing industry. For those



Remaining there is work often for barely three months in the year. The factories still use low-paid contract labour; hours are long and irregular; and there are very few Black Namibians in skilled or managerial positions, ashore or afloat. Unlike the mining corporations, the companies have recycled virtually none of their large profits into social facilities, housing, education and training — since South Africa's purported annexation of Walvis Bay in 1977, even their taxes have gone to Pretoria rather than Windhoek.

What of the future? One concrete step before independence would be for the UN Council for Namibia, as the legal governing authority for the territory, to declare an EEZ and attempt to regulate and tax the offshore fishery on behalf of the Namibian people. Membership of ICSEAF would directly challenge South Africa's right to act on behalf of Namibia, although ICSEAF's *de facto* recognition of the illegal South African administration in Namibia puts its own legality in serious doubt. Such a step would afford an excellent opportunity to those ICSEAF members who also sit on the Council (Angola, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, USSR) to translate their principles into practical action.

In the long run the prize of successful development — what would probably be the largest fish processing industry in Africa — is potentially substantial in employment, in the supply of cheap protein for human and animal consumption, in integrated industrial expansion and in export revenue.

But the path to success will be difficult: factories and especially boats are costly, markets risky and volatile and good management essential. It will be long: the fish stocks as well as factories and fleet will take time to rebuild and operate effectively. And it will be tortuous: the aftermath of independence and negotiations with foreign interests will bring unforeseeable problems of their own.

Namibia approaches independence with hardly any skilled personnel, with its inshore industry crippled — and possibly hijacked altogether if South Africa tries to hang onto Walvis Bay — and with its deepsea fishery virtually a foreign monopoly. A precondition of development will be to get the fish back into the sea, to which a conservative and strictly enforced management regime will be needed.

Necessary too will be foreign partners, and here expectations should be tempered by the generally sorry African experience of licensing and partnership deals, which too often result in the partner retaining strategic control and running off with the profits and the best fish. Even the world's strongest fishing nations find industrial fishing difficult to police. Namibia's prize will take much patience and determination to win •

DIAMOND PROSPECTING SAID ENCOURAGING

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 4 Jun 84 p 5

[Excerpt] DE BEERS Consolidated Mines announced a dramatic profit increase this year of R530,2m compared to R442,5m earned last year.

This was announced by the Chairman, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, in the company's annual report for 1983.

However, Mr Oppenheimer said although "1983 was considerably better than 1982...the early promise of a return to normal conditions which I reported last year was not fully realised and the market for the larger, better stones remains weak".

In spite of this, the Chairman said there were "signs of a shift in demand upwards from the small, less expensive goods to medium quality diamonds".

Reffering to Namibia, Mr Oppenheimer said "intensive prospecting was continued with encouraging results along the north bank of the Orange River and in the old German mining areas south of Lüderitz".

He also said there had been "systematic sampling" of the coast floor.

He admitted, however, production was still "temporarily" down in Namibia, and that "special

efforts were being made in the hope of extending the life of the CDM deposits".

The De Beers report also mentioned the "employment practices" scheme which the corporation used to "improve relations at the interface", and to offer "equal opportunities to candidates of all races".

CSO: 3400/1060

**SWAPO PUTS UP FIGHT FOR PRESTIGE**

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 p 10

**[Text]** Officer Commanding the SWA Territory Force, Major-General George Meiring, said in Windhoek yesterday.

Gen Meiring said Swapo would try to use the media for the purpose.

He said Swapo would do anything to enhance its prestige, because the activities of the Joint Monitoring Commission between South Africa and Angola were likely to handicap the organisation.

Skirmishes between Security Forces and Swapo insurgents had drastically increased during the past year.

This trend could be ascribed to the readiness of Security Forces to track down infiltrators, he said.

If the aims of the JMC were achieved, Swapo's survival would be seriously threatened.

Asked whether cutting off of Swapo's supply lines through Southern

Angola would result in the increase of urban terrorism, he said it was possible, but doubted its success.

Militarily it would be difficult for the Angolan Defence Force to keep Swapo completely out of SWA, but it would be possible if the Angolan Government was sincere in its attempts, he said.

Gen Meiring said that of the estimated 800 Swapo infiltrators who had entered the country during February, this year, 257 had been accounted for.

About 500 were active in the flat areas of the territory near the border. - Sapa.

CSO: 3400/1060

NAMIBIA

BRIEFS

TENSION REPORTED IN SWANU--Windhoek--The simmering tensions within Namibia's Swanu party are once again on the boil following the expulsion of the general secretary, Mrs Nora Chase. It follows months of disunity within the party over Swanu's participation in the Multi-Party Conference (MPC). Mrs Chase's expulsion by Swanu president, Mr Moses Katjiuongua, is a direct result of her participation--along with several prominent party dissidents--in the Swapo delegation to last month's Lusaka talks between South Africa, Swapo, the MPC and the Zambian Government. The party's secretary for information, Mr Tjeripo Ngaringombe, yesterday said Mrs Chase's expulsion had been backed by the Swanu politburo and the central committee. Mr Katjiuongua sent a letter to Mrs Chase, who is believed to be at a church conference in Switzerland, informing her of the move. In the letter he accuses Mrs Chase of "anarchistic and conspiratorial anti-party activities". "You systematically continued to be grossly dishonest and disloyal to the party. "Enough is enough. We can no longer tolerate your presence," Mr Katjiuongua said. The Swanu president was embarrassed at Lusaka when his party dissidents openly sided with Swapo. The split was a principal cause of the delays in the start of the Lusaka talks. The central committee is scheduled to meet later this month, and further expulsions or resignations are expected. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Jun 84 p 11]

CSO: 3400/1060

### MUSLIMS REPORTEDLY GIVEN BAD NAME BY MAITATSINES

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 33, May 84 pp 26-27

[Article: "The Mysterious Maitatsines"]

[Text]

 The questions currently exercising the minds of both the Muslim populace and the authorities in Nigeria – although the latter would not admit to any ignorance about the issue – is: who are the Maitatsines? Who do they really represent, and on whose behalf are they engaging in their terrorist acts? And why do they use Islam as a smokescreen?

Maitatsine disturbances have erupted four times in the last four years, claiming thousands of lives and millions of Naira in destroyed property. For this, "Muslim fundamentalist or fanatic groups," a term popularised by some anti-Islamic sections of the Nigerian press, are regularly blamed.

The most recent outbreak of violence occurred in Jemeta, a few kilometres from Yola, the capital of Gongola state, between February 27 and March 5. Close to 1,000 people were killed, and 30,000 rendered homeless; 2,000 houses were destroyed, 1,500 were damaged, and the biggest market in Jemeta was completely burnt down, leaving more than 2,000 people without any means of earning a living. In all, the cost of the damage amounted to Naira 10m.

All the disturbances have taken place in predominantly Muslim areas. The first broke out in Kano in December 1980, and took the Nigerian army 12 days to crush; the second and third took place almost simultaneously in Kaduna and in Bulum Kutu, on the outskirts of Maiduguri, the capitals of Kaduna and Borno states respectively. Yet many other pointers militate against any religious connections.

The Maitatsines seem to want people to believe that they are Muslims. However,

their utterances, relationships with other sectors of society, even their mode of worship, are anything but Islamic. Muhammadu Marwa Maitatsine, their first known leader, from whom the group takes its name, rejected the prophethood of Muhammad (peace and blessing of Allah be upon him) and denounced anyone who read the Hadith, or any other book for that matter. Anybody who listened to the radio, watched television or wore wristwatches was denounced as an infidel by Maitatsine, and his followers still hold to these beliefs. Yet they never proselytise.

With regard to their social organisation, it appears that the members maintain a hierarchical structure, stressing strong obedience from subordinates towards their superiors. The members also seem to be relatively independent from outside society; for example, they have their own blacksmiths, tailors, carpenters, and other craftsmen.

It is somewhat puzzling to many observers that such groups are able to live in places such as Kano, Kaduna and Yola, given the high cost of living in those cities. It is thought they must have hidden sources of income. As for their mode of worship, it differs fundamentally from all the known and accepted Islamic practices. All Salat (prayers) with four Rakaats are reduced to two. Ritual ablutions have been dispensed with. But, most importantly, the Maitatsines do not face the Muslim Qibla-Kaabah when praying – they face northwards, towards Jerusalem.

Another point of interest is the timing of their insurrections. Apparently by coincidence, they always cause trouble

whenever the political stability of the country is threatened. In 1980, when they took action in Kano, the then federal government under ex-president Shagari was facing a lot of problems from the opposition parties. It was also a period of party factionalisation. Rimi, the ex-state governor of Kano, was fighting viciously with his party leader, the late Malam Aminu Kano, over the control of the banned Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP). The Unity Party of Nigeria was also masterminding the break-up of the other parties, such as the proscribed Great Nigeria Peoples' Party, then led by Waziri Ibrahim, and the Nigeria Peoples' Party, under the leadership of Dr Nnamdi Azikwe.

These disturbances also coincided with the formation of the so-called Progressive Parties Alliance, whose stated objective was to cripple the federal administration. The present military administration is still facing severe economic and social problems, which perhaps explains the Maitatsines' decision to strike again. Their move was linked by the Nigerian press to the threat of some exiled politicians to stage "jihad" from London in order to restore democracy in Nigeria.

The Maitatsines are well-armed, and have always held their own in shoot-outs with the Mobile Police (the paramilitary special police). In all but the Kaduna troubles, the Maitatsines have defeated the Mobile Police, and the army has had to be mobilised to overcome them.

At Kano in 1980, and Jemeta in 1984, the Maitatsines used highly sophisticated guerrilla techniques. In both cases they dug large, deep underground bunkers which served as stores for their arms and ammunition as well as providing accommodation for their members. Despite heavy bombardment by the military, the underground hideaways in Jemeta remain intact.

The construction of such large underground networks suggests careful, long-term preparation. It also suggests that if the Maitatsines are "fanatics," they are a totally new variety. There is a near-unanimous consensus among the Muslim groups in Nigeria that the Maitatsines are an organised terrorist group nurtured and sponsored by forces hostile to Islam and to Nigeria.

The Nigerian government has also given some indications that it is aware that the Maitatsines are a sponsored

subversive group, with both internal and external backing. Many police and civil service officials have said privately that ample evidence is in the hands of the authorities to indict the Maitatsines. But the government has refused to bring this evidence out in the open, and important government officials continue to echo the sentiments of the anti-Muslim press by calling them "religious fanatics".

Some Muslims believe that the government finds it convenient to call the Maitatsines "religious fanatics" because such condemnation restrains those with genuine religious zeal from making any move to change the secular character of the Nigerian polity. The anti-Islamic forces – including many Christian and Marxist groups – in the country are delighted that these events portray Islam in a negative light, as a religion of violence and anarchism.

BRIEFS

966 LAID OFF--A BRITISH Construction firm, Taylor Woodrow, has suspended work on the ₦48 million Kano Irrigation Project at Rano and laid off its 966 work-force. In a letter dated May 17, 1984 reference number, N10 25/82/5790 sent to the Kano State branch secretary, Nigerian Union of Construction and Civil Engineering Workers (NUCCEW) by the company's project manager, Mr. G. L. Hopkins, said the company took the action because of shortage of lubricants, especially engine oil. Despite the suspension, the company has agreed to guarantee the regular payment of wages and salaries to its workers. However, the company explained that "unforunately it is unable to guarantee that it will not eventually be necessary for employees to be made redundant." [Sani Abdul-lahi] [Excerpt] [Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 27 May 84 p 12]

FLOUR PRODUCTION BELOW DEMAND--PRODUCTION of flour as of today in Nigeria stands at 33 1/3 per cent below the estimated demand in the market. A recent investigation by Business Times revealed. Production in the last two years have remained constant on 6,000 tonnes per day as against the planned 8,000 tonnes by the nine mills in the country. With expansion programme within the industry grounding to a halt by early 1982, due to austerity measures, the target set by millers in the industry failed to materialise whereas demand continued to rise. Although a 50kg bag of flour sells for ₦17.40 factory price now, the outside price has gone up to ₦45.00, that is, 158.62 per cent increase. To have the improvement, import licences needed to bring in the remaining machineries would have to be issued by the Federal Government. [Dapo Ajibola] [Excerpts] [Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 May 84 p 16]

MAJORITY OF SOLDIERS LITERATE--CHIEF of Army Staff, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, has said over 75 per cent of soldiers in the army were literate. He told newsmen at a reception in his honour over the weekend in Kano that the army had always had the facilities for training soldiers not only to fight but also to acquire skills. The chief of army staff explained that it was important for soldiers to be trained to be good citizens in order to fit into the society when they leave the service. He also said the Nigerian Army Education Corp (NAEC) was set up to provide a necessary training and education for soldiers. Commenting on the War Against Indiscipline (WAI), within the rank and file of the army, Major-General Babangida stated that the army had always lived on discipline, adding that even before WAI, disciplinary measures had been in force in the army. The chief of army staff was in Kano during a tour of military formations in Kano and Katsina. [Text] [Kaduna NEW NIGERIAN in English 28 May 84 p 1]

NEW PETROLEUM, ENERGY POLICY--A 24-man panel has been set up to provide new policy guidelines to the Federal Military Government (FMG) on petroleum and energy. The 24 men who are experts in their various professions were drawn from various institutions of higher learning and professional organisations on energy research. According to a statement from the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) on Friday the 24-man energy panel would be charged with the express assignment of working as the "think tank" that will draw meaningful and comprehensive guidelines as basis for a formidable Nigerian energy policy. The panel will hold its inaugural meeting in the Board Room of the NNPC in Ikoyi next Friday. Meanwhile, the Nigerian Academy for Science has welcomed the action of the Federal Military Government to formulate a comprehensive energy policy for the country. [Text] [Kaduna SUNDAY NEW NIGERIAN in English 27 May 84 p 16]

CSO: 3400/1056

PROVINCIAL, LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNDER NEW DISPENSATION

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 26 May 84 p 4

[Article by Hilary Venables]

[Text]

THE government still does not know what form provincial and local government will take under the new dispensation, the MEC for local government in the Provincial Council, Mr Hernus Kriel, said yesterday.

Mr Kriel, who is a member of the committee investigating the future of local government, compared the restructuring process to giving birth.

"You know what to do, it is not painless, and you don't know what the baby will look like."

During debate on the budget vote for local government, Mr Kriel continually evaded opposition questions on the details of second and third tier government under the new deal.

If he had any say in the restructuring, he said, he would make sure city councils like the Cape Town City Council would comply with government policy and not "stick out their tongues at the government and refuse to do what they're asked to".

The only details he was prepared to divulge

at this stage were that:

- Uniform criteria would be imposed on voters for local authorities throughout the country.

- There would be some sort of hierarchy of local authority.

- A "dynamic programme", in which white local authorities would play a key role, would be instituted for training officials.

From above

- Areas of jurisdiction would be delimitated to prevent overlapping.

- Joint services would be provided on a regional and local level for the sake of cost effectiveness. Structures would therefore have to be created for joint decision-making by all population groups.

- Authority would be "devolved" but control would still be imposed from above.

- Mechanisms would be created to handle conflict between local authorities.

- New sources of revenue would have to be used to finance these authorities.

Mr Kriel said it was impossible to create new local authorities overnight and for the time being management committees would have to be used as a link with white local authorities.

The leader of the opposition in the council, Mr Herbert Hirsch, replied that it was critical that new local authorities were not created for ideological reasons, but practical ones.

He drew Mr Kriel's attention to "the number of local authorities already existing in the Cape Province which are in difficulties as a result of the shortage of qualified personnel and financial unviability".

Referring to provincial government, Mr Hirsch said that if it were confined to "general affairs" as had been suggested, the life of provincial councils was "certainly limited".

SUCCESSION OF BOTHA AS PARTY LEADER MOOTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Jun 84 p 6

[Article by Leon Marshall]

[Text] On the surface the National Party is tranquil and contented now that Dr Andries Treurnicht is no longer there to stir things up. But underneath there is a lot of pushing and shoving and as much guessing and gossip going on about who is getting where and how.

It has been going on for months as front-ranking party members position themselves for the advent of the new constitution with its many imponderables.

Now that the countdown has started for the introduction of the system in September, behind-the-scenes activity can be expected to intensify and even burst into the open.

It may not be nearly as dramatic as the Nationalist power struggles of recent years which have seen the ascendancy of Mr P W Botha, the political demise of the once-powerful Dr Connie Mulder and the ejection of Dr Treurnicht and his fellow Conservatives. But it is every bit as intriguing and much more subtle.

One reason, particularly for the subtlety, is the firm control Mr Botha has over the party. Another is that the jockeying for position does not have the divisive ideological overtones that the old fights with Dr Treurnicht's *verkramptes* had.

That doesn't mean there are no ideological motivations. The difference is only that the ideological divisions now are less clear-cut than in the days when the party had to choose between power-sharing, of a sort, and hardline apartheid.

Another reason for the relative restraint is the uncertainty, also among Nationalists, over how the new system will work and where the power positions will be.

It is a foregone conclusion that Mr P W Botha will become the first executive President. This being the real power position, it will place him somewhat above party politics — although not so far above that he won't be able to make his influence felt within the ruling party. Far from it.

But his departure from the parliamentary front bench and his reduced party political involvement will create a certain leadership vacuum within the ruling party that will have to be filled.

And whoever fills that vacuum, as the leading Nationalist Cabinet member, will be well placed to one day assume the presidential hat.

Because some Cabinet members will also have to make way for coloured and Indian Ministers, the jockeying for position is more than a power struggle. For some it is a struggle for survival.

An example of the latter is the speculation sparked by the Prime Minister's announcement that Mr Barend du Plessis, a junior minister in his Cabinet, would act as Minister of Finance during Mr Owen Horwood's absence.

Mr Horwood is expected to retire and everybody is wondering who his successor will be. The Minister of Finance will have an even more influential position under the new system.

But essentially the focus, as far as the real power tussle is concerned, is on three men — Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk, and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis.

From the parliamentary back and middle benches, from the lower ranks in the National Party and even from the State bureaucracy — which is known not to be immune to political interest — their every move has been closely watched over recent months.

At first, Mr de Klerk seemed perfectly placed to take a decisive lead. That was soon after he took over as Transvaal Nationalist leader from Dr Treurnicht, having been instrumental in giving his predecessor and his cohorts a trouncing in every backroom where they fought.

Technically, he should still be in the strongest position. Transvaal leaders of the National Party have long proved to have an edge over their provincial counterparts in leadership struggles.

But whether provincialism will play as strong a role under the new scheme of things is open to question. Moreover, under Mr de Klerk's leadership, the Soutpansberg seat fell to the Conservatives, and before the new constitution comes into operation there will be more election fights in that troubled province.

If the National Party does badly in any of these, it will further affect his chances.

Most importantly, however, from his executive actions as Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr de Klerk gives the impression of not being entirely at ease with the new style of politics.

In a way, he seems to find himself in much the same position as did Dr Treurnicht when he was Transvaal

leader. It is said that he represents the interests of that section of Nationalists which has not come fully to terms with the new system — in other words, the conservatives.

Much the same used to be said of Dr Treurnicht — that he represented too powerful a force within the National Party to be alienated.

There doesn't appear much chance of Mr de Klerk being alienated, as happened in the end to Dr Treurnicht, but whether the remaining conservatives in the Nationalist caucus are strong enough to secure him a good position under the new constitution is an open question.

As the architect of the new constitutional scheme, Mr Heunis has proved his ability to negotiate effectively with prospective power-sharers of colour. On these grounds alone he has some claim to promotion. But he is a Cape man, and whether Mr P W Botha — or the National Party itself, for that matter — would want two Cape Nationalists in the top positions is doubtful.

Furthermore, while influential in shaping policy, Mr Heunis does not seem to command the support in the party's various caucuses — most definitely not in those of the northern provinces.

Which leaves Mr Pik Botha.

That he has aspirations is beyond doubt. It showed when as a junior minister he made his bid for power, along with Dr Mulder and Mr P W Botha, when Mr John Vorster retired.

In that election he turned out to be the kingmaker, by helping Mr P W Botha to beat Dr Mulder on the second round of voting.

For him the current race could not have come at a better time. Having always enjoyed grassroots support, it seems increasingly that he is now also making his presence powerfully felt within the tighter Nationalist circle where the party's leaders are picked.

It seems very much through his doing that the Government is finding it possible to establish a better relationship with neighbouring states.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### GOVERNMENT'S WILLINGNESS, ABILITY TO IMPLEMENT REFORM CHALLENGED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 May 84 p 7

[Article by Jean Hey: "Has Word 'Reform' a Hollow Ring in SA?"]

[Text] Mr P W Botha has set off on his grand tour of Europe with the catchword "reform" as a likely central theme. It will be vigorously echoed to European leaders — who are likely to react with varying degrees of conviction, cynicism or downright disbelief.

But while Mr Botha proounds his vision of steady — if slow — progress, racial anomalies continue to be a feature of life here. In the past week alone, the ordinary South African citizen has had to digest snippets of contradictory news. These items raise important questions about reform.

Consider the following news items reported in the last two days:

- The Pietersburg Town Council has rejected an application for the African Bank to establish a branch in town.
- A wealthy Indian will probably be refused membership to the Krugerdorp Golf Club because the town council fears that if they accept one application the club will be "swamped".
- The Department of Community Development demolished the Pageview house of a 67-year-old Indian without apparently giving him any warning.
- The Government has rejected a proposal to create an "international" beach resort at Palm Beach on Natal's lower South Coast region.

#### Distant goal

These incidents indicate that racial equality remains a distant goal in South Africa.

But at the same time signs that racial barriers are crumbling have recently come to light. These are:

- Two coloured players have been included in the Springbok rugby team.
- Representatives from the Sandton and Randburg town councils are visiting Port Elizabeth to study its integrated bus system with a view to introducing an integrated system in their own towns.
- Petty apartheid signs in Pretoria — the heart of the apartheid establishment — have been removed.
- The coloured Labour Party has decided that, in the interests of the country, it will flout the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. Not only does it intend to include Indians in its ranks but will contest seats in both the Indian and coloured chambers.

Can these examples of de-racialising be lauded as significant milestones on the road to

reform when the general South African picture remains bleak?

The Star yesterday reported that South Africa still has a high infant mortality rate and widespread undernutrition — although it produces at least 12 percent more food than it needs. The nutrition problem is mainly a rural one — and rural areas are greatly influenced by apartheid's grand design.

According to the Black Sash, the Government has shown no intention of demolishing the key pillars of apartheid.

"There are changes in that you now see black faces where five years ago only white were allowed — in hotels, in restaurants and on television. But as long as the Government continues with separate development, all these small changes are little more than irrelevant," said national vice-chairman of the Black Sash, Mrs Joyce Harris.

The Government's policy of removals stands as the symbol of separate development — and it has shown no signs of softening. About 70 "black spots" remain in South Africa. The Government is resolved to clear them by moving the communities to their respective homelands.

"There is no deviation in the Government's policy of removals. Several communities are under direct threat at the moment and if anything, the Government is tightening up its removal efforts," said Mrs Ethel

**Walt, chairman of the Black  
Sash removals committee.**

Mr P W Botha may voice a clear message of reform to the leaders of Europe. But at home the message is confused. On the one hand, there are signs that the great monolith of apartheid is being slowly eroded. On the other, its foundations appear as firm as ever.

CSO: 3400/1084

## SOUTH AFRICA

### NIC PRESIDENT ON OPPOSITION TO NEW CONSTITUTION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 May 84 p 35

[Article by George Sewpershad, president of the Natal Indian Congress: "Why We Say No to South Africa's New Constitution"]

**[Text]** THE Natal Indian Congress is committed to the democratic way of life. We believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it and all are entitled to enjoy its wealth and resources.

We believe that change is urgently necessary in South Africa to bring racial discord and oppression of the black people to an end. If the necessary changes in our society are not made in time, then the racial bitterness that exists in South Africa could explode into violence.

We are deeply concerned about the welfare of the Indian Community and all other people in this country. We wish to avoid violence and the cruelties that flow from violence. Our policy is to bring about the necessary changes in South Africa through peaceful means.

Today black South Africans are being presented with yet another government formulated plan for their future. We are being assailed with suspect promises of reform and hollow gestures of invitation to the laager.

#### Non-negotiable

But the central question which both government and its supporters are evading

is that of full, political rights for the African people — the majority in South Africa — and other disenfranchised people.

What we fail to realise is that genuine peace and brotherhood will elude us unless and until we all address ourselves to this question, which has been the focus of our history for over 300 years.

How can anybody who genuinely desires a peaceful future ignore the question of equal political rights for all South Africans? Those who want meaningful change in South Africa must ask whether the 1983 constitution takes us any closer to equal political rights for all.

Is there in fact any indication that this government wants to dismantle the apartheid system and inhuman laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Land Acts and so on?

The government has made it clear that these laws remain non-negotiable. The 1983 constitution can only be a "step in the right direction" if there is a commitment towards a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The harsh reality is that this constitution does no more than entrench apartheid in a more modern

form. It expresses no intention to dismantle the apartheid system.

Congress has made a thorough study of the constitution to establish whether it represents a marked shift from our history of:

- Dispossession of land from the African people by force and the allocation of 13% of the land to over 70% of the people.

- Oppression on the basis of skin colour.

- Disenfranchisement of all African, coloured and Indian people.

- The migrant labour system and harsh influx control.

- Racial segregation in terms of the Group Areas Act.

- Discrimination on the basis of race in education, housing, health care, welfare, etc.

The 1983 constitution neither changes any of these or other aspects of apartheid nor offers the possibilities of bringing about fundamental change to apartheid.

There seems to be little disagreement about this among intelligent political observers — even those willing to participate in the elections.

Those who are arguing for participation in the tricameral parliament cannot tell the community how they will overcome white

domination in the ratio of 4:2:1 (Whites: Coloured: Indians) in parliament and an even more disproportionate ratio in the President's Council and Cabinet.

The creation of a substantial number of jobs, a strong economy and the provision of housing and other basic necessities all depend upon the ability of those who participate to change the distribution of wealth in this country. This constitution makes it impossible for Indians and Coloureds to do this.

Further economic growth is possible only if there is political stability. In no way does this constitution even begin to address itself to the needs of a democracy, and government intransigence will hasten violence, not peace.

## Death knell

Political instability in the years 1958, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1973 and 1976 witnessed a massive flight of capital from South Africa. The hopelessly flawed constitution, carrying with it the seeds of further conflict and political upheaval, is unlikely to create the conditions which will continue to attract foreign capital and will sound the death knell of any meaningful economic growth.

Unfortunately, white South Africa is not really interested in peace and power-sharing. The privileged are not prepared to relinquish their privileges and share the wealth of our motherland.

In addition, we have long been plagued and hindered by those (eg SAIC, CRC) who paid lip service to participation for the purpose of effecting change and who have been swallowed up by the system.

It is certain that participation in these circumstances will degenerate into co-option into the white laager as has happened before.

## Pressure

Few will disagree that the real catalyst for "change" has been extra parliamentary pressure and struggle and not the product of efforts of state-created institutions like the SAIC, CRC and Bantustans.

In Namibia, the South African government, after spending billions on defence and propping up dummy institutions like the DTA, is forced to release Mr Toivo Ja Toivo and negotiate directly with Swapo, a force that has constantly remained aloof from and functioned outside of apartheid-created institutions.

Congress and its democratic allies in the United Democratic Front are therefore convinced that the policy of non-participation in the tri-cameral parliament is historically correct and consistent with recent developments in the world.

Notwithstanding the fact that apartheid cannot be changed at any fundamental level, those who wish to participate argue that they can substantially improve the quality of life of Coloureds and Indians.

They argue that the housing backlog can be eliminated, equal education offered, equal welfare benefits provided and so on.

Yet the facts are that in each of the day to day problems concerning our communities, matters related to policy and finance are defined as "general affairs" and are therefore under the control of the President and Cabinet, which is white dominated.

What the protagonists of participation fail to disclose is how, in the absence of any control over finance or the power to initiate policy on matters such as housing and welfare, they propose to improve living conditions.

It takes little imagination to predict that those that participate will create

an elitist self-serving clique alienated from the aspirations of the poor and the helpless, and merely acting as a useful buffer between the white minority parliament and the needs, demands and resistance of the people.

Participation will:

- Alienate Indians and Coloureds from the African majority.
- Lead to racial division, suspicion and conflict.
- Make Indians and coloureds responsible for acts of oppression, such as removals, Group Areas and security laws, without the power to change these laws.

- Lead Africans and the world to perceive Indians and coloureds as active participants in the implementation of apartheid.

The oversimplification of our antagonists in asserting that "the boycott strategy has achieved little structural" change is breathtaking. The boycott tactic is only one in a vast array of methods employed by progressive South Africans, including the NIC, in their struggle for a just South Africa.

Congress places its faith in the strength of an organised people whose united action is the only shield against injustice and repression.

RATIONALIZATION OF CHROME INTEREST ANNOUNCED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 84 p 22

[Article by D de Kock]

[Text] GENCOR has acquired the rest of Iscor's stake in Samancor for R128,7-million. At the same time a far reaching rationalisation programme of the two companies' chrome interest was also announced yesterday.

Gencor announced that it purchased from Iscor the balance of about 44 percent of the share capital of African Metals (AML). AML's sole asset is a 39,6 percent interest in SA Manganese Corporation (Samancor). This transaction will bring Gencor's effective control to just under 50 percent of Samancor's issued ordinary share capital.

The first step towards rationalisation, and probably the one that offers the biggest benefits, in the short-term is the rationalisation of the chrome interests.

Tom de Beer, Gencor's executive financial director, said yesterday that discussions were in progress with Transvaal Mining and Finance (TMF), a wholly-owned subsidiary

of Gencor, and Cromore, a wholly-owned subsidiary of Samancor, with a view of combining the operation of TMF's three chrome mines with the two chrome mines operated by Cromore.

The mines involved are TMF's three chrome producers Montrose, Groothoek and Tweefontein and Samancor's Mooienooi and Grasvallei mines.

Ruighoek, another chrome producer on the Bophuthatswana boundary, which is not very profitable, could be closed down.

It is expected that the Tobatse plant in which Gencor has a stake of 51 percent and Union Carbide 49 percent, will also benefit by the rationalisation.

Mr De Beer said yesterday that the mineral industry in South Africa was a very complex industry and the rationalisation of the two groups' chrome interest must be seen as a starting point of more rationalisation programmes to come.

He expects the rationalisation of the chrome interest to lead to increased

profits for Samancor. The transaction, however, will have no material effect on the net asset value, earnings or dividends of Gencor in the financial year ending December 31 1984.

The other big shareholder in Gencor is Anglo American, which holds about 31,7 percent of the issued share capital. The chairman of Anglo, Mr Gavin Relly, stated at the last annual meeting that he was happy with Anglo's stake in Samancor and that there were no intentions of selling it.

Samancor posted a loss of about R12-million in the first half of its financial year, but in the second half there was a big turnaround with the result that the company ended with a profit of R3-million for the year ended February 1984.

Rationalisation of the chrome interests is probably the first step to putting the company on a healthy earnings base — particularly when the next upturn in mineral industry becomes a reality.

CSO: 3400/1084

SALE OF NETHERLANDS CRUDE BLOCKED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 p 3

[Text] **THE HAGUE.** — The Netherlands Government has reached an agreement with petroleum producers to ensure that no Dutch crude oil was going to South Africa, according to the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek.

The Government action was disclosed this week as a Dutch anti-apartheid organisation claimed that more than 200 oil tankers had defied the unofficial international oil embargo against Pretoria between July 1981 and January 1983.

"The Dutch Government applauds companies that refrain from delivering Dutch Oil to South Africa," said Mr Van Den Broek in a letter to Parliament. "I believe a final arrangement has been reached which ensures that no Dutch oil goes to South Africa now and that without my advance knowledge, such will not happen in the future."

In the letter, Mr Van Den Broek said he had written to the Dutch Oil and Gas Exploration and Production Association

(Nogepa), asking its member firms not to deliver Dutch North Sea Oil to South Africa.

Mr Van Den Broek noted that at present all oil from Dutch North Sea Wells is piped into the Netherlands for further processing.

Prior approval would be required from the Economics Ministry before such oil could be offered to a foreign refinery for processing.

If such a sale were contemplated to South Africa, Mr Van Den Broek said, Economic Minister Mr Gijs van Aardenne would inform him immediately.

Mr Van Den Broek would not approve such a request, said a Foreign Ministry source.

The source said Mr Van Den Broek's deal with the oil producers was a "gentleman's agreement."

"We have no legal means to prevent oil shipments to South Africa," said the source, noting the Netherlands did not currently have any legal trade sanctions or embargos in force against Pretoria.

But the source noted the "gentleman's agreement" applied only to crude oil, and not refined products, because of the difficulty of tracing their sources and destination.

In past years, there have been repeated but unsuccessful Parliamentary moves here to enact legal trade sanctions against South Africa.

In its report on oil reaching South Africa, the Shipping Research Bureau said it had identified 23 shipping companies responsible for taking oil to South Africa, most of them Norwegian-based.

None of the oil companies involved were major firms, said the Research Bureau, a private organisation. — Sapa-AP.

CSO: 3400/1084

GOVERNMENT REPRESSION, RIGHTWING TERRORISM DEPLORED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 May 84 p 7

[Article in "Opinion" column by Jonty Joffe, executive member of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee]

[Text] ONE MIGHT be forgiven for having some sympathy with the groups that last week commemorated the victims of the Pretoria bombing one year ago. The suffering of innocent civilians caught in the crossfire of a war between powerful antagonists, whether they be in Angola or Pretoria, Lebanon or Cambodia must surely be one of the most tragic facts of our war-torn globe.

That sympathy is quickly eroded. A brief reminder of the history of the groups that last week held pickets in London and Pretoria against the ANC, provides some insight into their real motives and places them in their true context, i.e., as part of the Government's strategy to bolster its fragile foreign policy gains.

In September 1981, the Detainee's Parents Support Committee (DPSC) was formed in order to protect and help their relatives who had fallen victim to the State's repressive actions.

This initiative resulted in local and international pressure against the Government's use of detention to crush opposition to apartheid.

The DPSC achieved considerable publicity and in mid-1982, using a very similar logo to that used by the DPSC, there suddenly appeared reports and advertisements placed by a group calling itself the "Security Forces Support Committee" (SFSC).

It was set up by Mr J Leontsinis and Mr Paul Assmussen. (The latter happens to be the brother-in-law of Security Police Major Craig Williamson).

Many immediately suspected that this was a propaganda exercise organised directly or indirectly by the Security Police to counter the effect of the DPSC and other detainees' support committees.

It seems that they themselves saw how ludicrous they looked, for after a few months nothing more was heard of them.

Meanwhile, considerable international attention was focused on detentions in South Africa. Such attention was clearly detrimental to the reform plans of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha and also embarrassing

for the Reagan administration trying to justify its policy of constructive engagement.

In addition, the mass support of emerging political, civic, student organisations

and trade unions necessitated more subtle and less public forms of repression.

Detaining people under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act for interrogation purposes, reduces the statistics regarding security detainees and criminalises these people by creating the impression that they are being investigated for criminal offences.

Although such persons are in theory entitled to advice from a lawyer, they are not always informed of their rights by the authorities and lawyers acting for detainees have reported that when they have tried to see clients arrested under the Criminal Procedures Act, the arrest is suddenly changed to detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, making legal access impossible.

There has been increasing emphasis on trying and convicting members of progressive organisations for offences such as trespassing, public violence or holding illegal gatherings, which in retrospect have turned out to be minor.

Those who have been charged have often been refused bail and have been held as awaiting-trial prisoners for long periods of time.

The result is effective preventative detention under the guise of a criminal

charge, from which the Security Police are distanced.

The call-in card is another new form of intimidation. The card is left at home or work and asks the person to report to their police station in connection with a "police matter". People are questioned about the activities and members of their organisations.

Another common form of intimidation is the use of frequent house raids and the questioning of family and friends.

Progressive organisations are being undermined by preventing them from having meetings. The overt form of this is the banning of meetings.

Increasingly, however, organisations find that they are unable to hold meetings because they are unable to find venues, usually church, civic or school halls, often because priests and headmasters have been intimidated or threatened.

While banning meetings is an obvious and newsworthy form of repression, the inability to find venues for meetings is not as obvious and seldom gets publicity.

What is apparent, therefore, is that there has been an attempt to improve the repressive image that the South African Government has, particularly abroad. This has manifested itself in a number of trends.

The first is towards the use of non-security legislation for interrogation, preventative detention, intimidation and criminalisation.

The second is the increasing use of threats and intimidation, e.g., the call-in card system.

A third is the focusing of attention on the grass-roots low profile members instead of the leaders of the progressive organisations.

A fourth trend is the intimidation of key figures in a community's infrastructure without whose support organisations can not even meet.

Perhaps the most insidious trend in the shifting intimidation tactics has been the growth of so-called Rightwing terrorism. Opponents of the Government are increasingly finding themselves under attack from unknown sources.

In Johannesburg there have been shots fired at the homes and cars of active members of opposition organisations.

There have been death threats from a group calling itself Omega, bomb threats, numerous bricks and stones thrown through house and car windows, dead cats hanging from door handles, paint remover poured over cars and tyres slashed.

Only last week, Ben Langa, a member of a Christian movement, which attempts to help black communities improve their lot, was assassinated.

It is to be hoped that the Security Police's investigation will be more successful than the previous investigations into the murders of Rick Turner, Griffiths Mxenga, Norman Manyepo or Brian Mazibuko, to name just a few.

A terror victims' support group was formed in order to provide moral and material support to those victimised members of progressive organisations.

No sooner had it begun to expose the links between these acts of terror and the Government's shifting strategy of intimidation, than a new group appeared on the scene.

"Victims Against Terror" or VAT, also set up by Mr Leontsinis, is the group that organised the protest outside the ANC offices in London.

By coincidence, it seems, VAT posters were identical to those used by the Pretor-

ia picketers representing the National Student Federation, another pro-Government group set up in reaction to the progressive student organisation, NU-SAS.

Not much is known about VAT and that itself is disturbing. What is known must raise some questions about its credentials.

How does Mr Bertil Wedin, a Swede, who was suspected but acquitted of involvement in the break-in and bombing of the ANC's London office, become involved in organising South Africans to fly to London to protest against the ANC?

Who paid the R25 000 to finance this little campaign? The whole affair leaves one with that all too familiar Muldergate after-taste of an international disinformation campaign.

These "protests" can be seen to slot into an overall strategy to downplay South Africa's image as a repressive State at a time when the Government is at pains to woo the coloureds and Indians at home and Mrs Thatcher and Mr Reagan abroad.

What we see here is not an organisation set up by mourners, but an agency manipulating our sentiments in order to distract international attention away from the activities of the Security Police and the Defence Force at home and across our borders.

Most will not be fooled.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### ECONOMICS OF ACCORD WITH MOZAMBIQUE CONSIDERED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Jun 84 p 9

[Article by Benjamin Pogrund: "Nkomati Balance Sheet--in Rands, Cents and Meticais"]

[Text] MOZAMBIQUE wants South African goods. But it lacks the money to pay — which means that businessmen who want to sell across the border will have to learn new methods.

Discussions between Mozambican officials and South African businessmen have led to proposals for a series of "barter deals" which will bypass payment of money.

Far more than trade is intended. That the political implications are profound is only too clear. Speaking to leaders of the government in Maputo the phrases "co-operation" and "mutual trust" constantly crop up.

"There is a need for real co-operation through sound and viable economic and commercial deals rather than a need to help Mozambique," says one leader.

Barter deals are common to Mozambique and have characterised its relations with the Eastern bloc countries, as well as with some African nations. For example, in the case of Eastern countries, fish could be "sold" in return for tractors.

The thinking is more ambitious in regard to South Africa. What is hoped for are extended deals over a

period of years with South Africa and Mozambique as partners.

The immediate priority for Mozambique is food for its people — starvation is a real threat for hundreds of thousands — and animal feed for livestock.

In return, Mozambique would like to pay with products such as bananas, prawns, timber or tea — but over, say, five years.

Even more, it wants South African firms to join in producing the prawns, bananas and timber in "joint ventures".

Hence the risks would be shared, so that any delays or problems would be dealt with not as defaults by a debtor, but as problems to be solved by partners.

The same thinking applies to Maputo harbour and the rail system.

"Our policy is to create facilities and to pay the cost from earnings from the facilities," says a government leader. "This sort of link creates a common interest in overcoming problems."

He adds: "We would like to have long-term contracts with South African exporters so that we can go ahead with developing wharves."

On the South African side, a banker who has made several visits to Mozambique, Mr Barry Munro of the Hill Samuel

Group, says: "My feeling is that we will have to employ innovative financing methods in that Mozambique's main resource at the moment is its future exports

"We have to come up with a scheme to utilise these exports to pay for urgently needed commodities and projects."

One illustration he cites is that Mozambique has accepted as a matter of policy an arrangement whereby several South African companies can operate as a consortium: If one or more

of them does building or repair work in Maputo harbour, payment can be made by giving other consortium members who use the port for imports or exports a reduction in harbour dues.

It is against this background that officials in Maputo put together a list of their priorities in trade dealings with South Africa.

● First is full South African utilisation of Maputo harbour and the rail system. The phrase "geo-economics" is constantly quoted to point to Maputo being the natural harbour for much of the Transvaal.

● Purchase of Cahora Bassa power and at higher rates — which has already been achieved in a special government-to-government agreement.

● Labour: They want South Africa's mines to take many more than the current number of about 45 000 Mozambican men, 60% of whose earnings are remitted directly to Maputo.

That accounts for an invaluable R90-million or so of foreign currency. The desire is not only for greater numbers but also for rates of exchange which will favour Mozambique as was done for Portugal in colonial times.

● Agricultural co-operation is wanted. It is pointed out that Mozambique's climate is different from South Africa and water is available, at least in some areas. The country could produce year-round crops in some regions, for export to South Africa. "Joint ventures" in agri-business are on offer, whereby South Africans could administer large farms.

● Investment in industry so that Mozambique can produce manufactured goods is wide open to proposals.

But expectations should not be too high. It's sobering to note the deficiencies in Mozambican production: such as the fact that the United States, already the biggest buyer of cashew nuts, would buy more — if only Mozambique could produce more. Also, this year the US has given Mozambique a 36 000-ton sugar quota. It's a valuable perk because the price is about double the world price. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that Mozambique will be able to take up the full quota.

Notes of caution are indeed the order of the day.

The Mozambicans stress they are open to business deals — "but always on a careful basis where everything should be clear. The feasibility of projects must be clear. We don't want to lose money".

South African business men who have been travelling across the border for discussions have for their part come to realise there is no rushing into quick

deals. They speak of their experience that Mozambicans "have a very disciplined and conservative financial approach".

A Western diplomat takes this even further: "In spite of the economic difficulties Mozambicans have a very good reputation for honesty and meeting their obligations," he says. "They don't take on things they can't do."

Meanwhile, while proposals and counter-proposals are being studied in Maputo and Johannesburg it all hangs on one major factor — the South African Government has apparently not yet taken a decision about whether to support the proposed new financing arrangements through insurance cover or guarantees.

### The Give-And-Take Benefits of Accord

A QUICK look at the map on the left explains a lot about the mutual good things to be derived from harmonious relations between South Africa and Mozambique ...

A train carrying chrome for export from Phalaborwa, in the Eastern Transvaal, travels 903km to the nearest South African port at Richards Bay. If, however, it goes to the nearest port — which is Maputo — it travels only 374km.

The same lesson applies to much of the Eastern Transvaal, and even further inland right up to the Witwatersrand, for goods as diverse as citrus, maize, asbestos and chemicals.

And equally for imports, the shorter the distance, the greater the chance of keeping costs down.

The advantages are fully realised by South African Transport Services. In fact, details like these come from senior officials at SATS headquarters in Johannesburg.

They view Mozambique as a "gateway" for South Africa to other parts of the world. They also welcome additional traffic on the rail line to Maputo and the use of Maputo harbour as the means of sharing Southern Africa's transport load.

Enthusiasm on the Mozambican side is just as great. Increased rail traffic and use of the port mean desperately-needed revenue and the creation of jobs.

Mozambicans have a deep sense of grievance because they believe the fall-off in use of their facilities has been a deliberate South African ploy as part of a wider economic squeeze.

They produce statistics to prove their point:

- In 1972, 6 823 000 tons of South African imports and exports went through Maputo;
- In 1982 this was down to 2 216 000 tons — 32.5% of what it had been.

They say this was due to a "generalised boycott".

Not so, say South African officials and businessmen. South Africans stayed away from Maputo because of feared inefficiency there, and the drop in trade was, in any event, linked with the world recession.

Whatever the recent history, stepped-up South African usage is now a prime aim for Mozambique.

"Our facilities are ready. I am confident that no important bottlenecks will arise," says a Mozambican government leader concerned with transport. "What we need is mutual confidence. If we encounter a difficulty we can get together and overcome it."

He notes the rail line to South Africa has been improved since independence in 1975. It has been rehabilitated with heavier rails and concrete sleepers, the line has been doubled for more than half its length and a centralised traffic system — being built by South African-based Siemens — is nearing completion.

Drivers, engineers and signal men — all of whom were in short supply when the "colonialists" left in a rush — have been trained.

In the port, he says two new cranes for containers are being built and equipment is on order for bulk grains. The sugar, citrus and steel terminals are fine. On the other hand, improvements are needed to the port's power network and maintenance workshops and the plant handling chrome ore and coal needs overhauling.

The top men in South African Transport Services say they are "cautiously optimistic" about the efficiency of the rail line and the port. They say that at railways level there have never been problems — "we have had friendly relations all the time, with constant contact between officials."

They estimate the rail line is currently being used at 25% of its capacity.

Both sides, almost wearily, nail the oft-repeated story that South Africa ever ran Mozambique's transport system.

"Technical co-operation, yes, but nothing more," say the SATS men. "We have assisted with maintenance, but on a purely commercial basis. We never had anything to do with the port."

## SOUTH AFRICA

### NIC ACCUSED OF PLAYING NEGATIVE, DESTRUCTIVE GAME

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 1 Jun 84

[Article by Sadiq Alli in the "Spotlight" column: "Next Step the Hustings"]

#### [Text]

By early next week the registration of Indian South Africans as voters will have been completed. Sadly, simply because of failure by the Government to take adequate steps early enough to clarify matters, a great deal of confusion abounded. That will now be behind the community.

The next step will — on the one side among those who intend to participate — preparations for selection of candidates and preliminary run-up to elections. The contending political parties will inevitably pitch their respective appeals to the electors.

In spite of loose and rather silly talk of there being too many political parties, the fact remains that there are only two Indian parties in the election race that need be taken seriously.

#### PUBLIC PAYROLL

Mr A. Rajbansi's National Peoples' Party took control of the SAIC. And its members being on the public payroll, with their wages

SAIC. And its members being on the public payroll, with their wages paid by the general taxpayer but having little or no real work to do, have been able to enjoy the luxury of engaging in party political work while being paid for it. Good luck to them. For

the Government attitude is that they were elected to the SAIC and if others boycotted then that is their lookout.

Solidarity, the newly formed party, has made a powerful impact upon the Indian community and appears to be gaining substantial influence. Whereas the NPP already has candidates working the field, Solidarity appears to be waiting for selection by its members in the several constituencies. This course is not only the democratic one but is perhaps wiser in the long run for it does make possible genuine grassroots involvement.

Yet the growing support for Solidarity appears to have caused serious concern to Mr Rajbansi. Witness the fact of the increasingly venomous personal attacks that he has been making on prominent Solidarity members.

They in their turn have quite rightly treated these with contemptuous silence. They have chosen not to trade insults with Mr Rajbansi. And quite rightly too, they have decided to keep their politicking at a dignified level.

#### ONE STROKE

The problem is that Mr Rajbansi does not hesitate to say anything, and to do anything, whether it is justified by the facts or not, in order to try and hurt his opponents.

Most recently, he has a claim designed to harm at one stroke Mr J.N. Reddy as well as TASA. In a letter to a Durban daily, Mr Rajbansi claims that TASA took Mr P.W. Prinsloo to Court and that TASA met the Executive Committee of the SAIC under.

If words have any meaning, the purpose is clear. Mr Rajbansi suggests that TASA met the former SAIC Executive in connection with this case. This is of course entirely untrue. The other is the innuendo that in that case Mr J.N. Reddy was on Mr Prinsloo's side. Another travesty of the facts.

The question is: if a man is sure of his case, why does he resort to falsehoods. If he does not deliberately tell untruth knowing them to be untrue, then he does that with reckless disregard for the truth.

#### THE BOYCOTTERS

The Natal Indian Congress on the other hand takes the attitude that the Indian people should have nothing to do with the tricameral parliament.

Interestingly while constantly railing against ethnic institutions, the Natal Indian Congress insistently remains an ethnic institution itself.

Whilst claiming a non-racial membership, the N.I.C. has never recanted a previous claim made on its behalf that "every Indian is a member of Congress".

The Natal Indian Congress remains an Indian body. All its officials are Indians as defined in the Group Areas Act. They concentrate on matters that affect the Indian community.

When bus fares went up in Indian areas, the N.I.C. was active in protests. But when Black

passengers also had to dig deeper into their pockets, the Natal Indian Congress looked the other way.

#### **N.I.C. REMAINED SILENT**

When rents went up in the Indian Phoenix Housing scheme, the leaders of the Natal Indian Congress set up an Action Committee there. But when Lamontville residents groaned under similar burdens, the N.I.C. remained silent. It was left to Durban's Mayor, Dr Sybil Hotz, and to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, to come to the rescue of people in Lamontville.

The Natal Indian Congress militants do not attend meetings of Inkatha or the Labour Party, let alone those of White parties. But they do their best to create problems for Indian political parties.

And this is the group that says that one must not function on racial lines. The N.I.C. President, Mr George Sewpersadh, says, quite seriously, that the 4.2.1 ratio for the new parliament means that Whites being in the majority will outvote Indians and Coloureds. In this he falls into a trap. For the very same reason — in reverse — is given by many Nationalists for not agreeing to majority rule. That will mean Black majority, they say. And they fear that they will always be outvoted.

#### **NEGATIVE ROLE**

The Natal Indian Congress is playing a negative, destructive game. Unless it does this

as part and parcel of a long-term and well-thought-out policy that ties in with the campaign planned in London to call for a boycott of the forthcoming elections, makes no sense. For there is no alternative solution that the Natal Indian Congress is prepared to offer.

Until and unless a positive and constructive alternative plan of action is put forward by the Natal Indian Congress, the Indian community will insist upon peaceful reform by participation in the Tricameral Parliament.

OPTIONS OF INDIAN VOTERS AIRED

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 1 Jun 84 p 4

[Editorial: "To Boycott or Not to B"]

[Text] In any evaluation of what the Indian community's reaction to the 1983 Constitution will be, weight must be given to Black attitudes. Not only from aspects of political and intellectual persuasiveness, but from that of contiguity as well.

After all, Indian South Africans constitute just under 3 per cent of the total South African population. Their number is some 750 000, with most of that number living in the Chatsworth complex right next door to Umlazi, and in Phoenix next door to Kwa Mashu, and in Lenasia close to Soweto.

There is their perfectly natural human desire to take whatever opportunities arise and to use them to build upon — not only for themselves but for all their fellow South Africans. Yet the reactions of their near-neighbours necessarily forms an influencing factor.

The fact that Black people in the 'homelands', including KwaZulu and Gazankulu and Lebowa do in fact make use of political opportunities available to them, and the fact that their leaders put to good use the perks and the patronage that is thereby at their disposal — these are ignored by those who harangue the Indians. But that is politics. The U.D.F. and the Natal Indian Congress do not hesitate to apply different standards.

If that were the only constraint, the problem may not be all that difficult. But there is the countervailing one. The Prime Minister has said that the Colour-

ed community has two choices, yes or no. But the Indians, said Mr Botha, have three choices. They can say yes, or they can say no, or "they can join Zululand".

That last bit is derisive and is obviously Mr Botha's way of reminding Indian South Africans that they have no political clout. That the 'also ran' status for Indians in the Buthelezi Commission recommendations for the executive is also derisory of the Indians does not help either.

Whether it likes it or not, the Nationalists are in power and they will remain in power for the foreseeable future. The harm done by the Group Areas removals has been devastating. But in education, the Nationalists accomplished more for Indians in 17 years than had been achieved in the previous hundred years.

It was the Nationalists who brought about pay-scale parity in the Civil Service and it has been under their rule that, in spite of all the obstacles, the position of the community has improved substantially in the past twenty (20) years.

They are now making tentative moves to give the Indians some political rights. That they do this reluctantly is obvious. That they only offer rights to Indians because they are obliged to grant rights to Coloureds is clear. And there is more than a little suspicion that, while P.W. Botha will go a long way to draw in the Coloureds to make the new Constitution work, he would not be altogether upset if the Indians opt out.

**After all, 90 per cent of them are of a different religion, and all of the Indian South Africans belong to an Eastern culture. The Whites have no love for them. They merely put up with them.**

The White voters have decided to implement the Constitution. Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert has publicly declared that he will, in the light of the referendum result, urge the PFP to follow suit. The Coloured people will be participating. Indian South Africans know only too well the futility of boycott politics.

**Boycott of the Tricameral Parliament only makes sense if we were, like the ANC, to demand one-man-one-vote now, or else resort to revolution.**

CSO: 3400/1084

## AECI GEARS UP FOR EXPLOSIVES INDUSTRY COMPETITION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 4 Jun 84 p 11M

[Article by Peter Farley]

**[Text]** AECI is set to consolidate its dominant position in SA's explosives industry, with a R100 million expansion of its manufacturing facilities countrywide.

AECI currently has around 95 percent of the local market, with troubled National Explosives the bulk of the balance.

But while its virtual monopoly of the market appears safe, the recent announcements by both Sasol and Celtite that they intend to offer AECI some competition has probably prompted this latest development.

The expansion programme calls for the construction of four new factories to enable products to be delivered to the point of use by road on a daily basis.

This will enable customers to substantially reduce stocks and cut overheads.

The first two new plants are to be erected in Bethel and Welkom, but no details have yet been given on the location of the next two.

### OBVIOUS ADVANTAGES

The Bethel plant will cost R30 million, and will have an annual capacity of 40 000 tonnes. Construction commences later this year.

While AECI makes no reference to the advent of increased competition, it is likely this development was a factor in the

company's deliberations.

Sasol's initial intention is to produce sufficient quantities of explosives for use on its own coal mines.

And although it is not intending immediately competing for third party business, there will be obvious economy advantages if it can gain penetration in other sectors.

Celtite, a subsidiary of Franco-British Exchem, announced earlier this year that it was negotiating with a local firm to construct a R5 million slurry plant in the Transvaal.

Technical backup and marketing expertise will come from Exchem, which specialises in explosives for the construction and engineering industries.

Celtite MD Mr John Payne says the company is looking to capture between seven and 10 percent of SA's more than R400 million a year explosives market.

Sasol has the obvious advantage of a ready-made market for its products, but Celtite will have to learn from the experiences of Hanhill's National Explosives.

Although National Explosives has a quality product, Tovex, which it manufactures under license, it has not managed to gain more than five percent of the total market in the two years since the Chamber of Mines was forced to allow competition in against AECI.

When the Hanhill group first ran in to trouble earlier this year AECI negotiated to buy National Explosives for R20 million.

This move was, however, blocked by the Competitions Board from going ahead.

The current expansion programme must also have been, in part at least, prompted by this government decision.

Mr Chris von Solms, chairman of AECI Explosives, says only that these expansions are part of an ongoing decentralisation policy within AECI.

The first two steps in this policy were installation of bulk on-site facilities at individual mines and commissioning of the R60 million explosives factory in Bophuthatswana in 1982.

### INDUSTRY LEADER

The four new factories will first establish the necessary infrastructure and continue to be supplied from Modderfontein while the construction is taking place. Thereafter Modderfontein will continue to supply the basic ammonium nitrate raw material.

The aim of AECI appears to be to entrench its position as the leader in the explosives industry. And while it will have to admit that it is going to lose the Sasol business, it is trying to ensure that it retains the rest of the market.

So far only a couple of Gencor mines have opted for Tovex, but with increased competition in the market AECI will obviously have to fight hard to retain its dominance.

But with the kind of muscle AECI can draw on, the newcomers can be sure that they do not intend giving up even one percent without a tremendous fight.

CSO: 3400/1084

SOUTH AFRICA

TUTU'S SON SUES GOVERNMENT OVER UNLAWFUL DETENTION

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Jun 84 p 4

[Article by John Mojapelo]

[Text] A SOWETO engineer, who was allegedly unlawfully detained by the police for driving under the influence of liquor, claimed R5 000 plus interest from the Minister of Law and Order in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Trevor Tutu, the son of the general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Bishop Desmond Tutu, brought the action before the Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice W G Boshoff.

Mr Tutu, of 1411 Dube, Soweto, alleged in papers before court that he had been arrested by a member of the Johannesburg Traffic Department along the M1 South near the Soweto railway line on April 23 1982 at 8.30pm.

Mr Tutu who was detained for driving under the influence of liquor was taken to the Booyens Police Station where a docket was opened by the South African Police.

According to papers by Mr Tutu it became apparent that he was not under the influence of liquor and ought not to have been arrested.

The police were then under a duty to release him.

Mr Tutu said he was then wrongfully and unlawfully detained for about 60 hours in police cells.

He was brought to court on April 27 charged with driving under the influence of liquor, exceeding the general speed limit and failing to display a motor vehicle licence disc.

The charges were withdrawn by the State.

Mr G Bizo SC, with Mrs K I Foulkes-Jones, said in the pleadings that the

police acted "from motives of malice" in not releasing Mr Tutu when there were no reasonable grounds for his detention.

Mr S J Maritz, counsel for the Minister, said in papers before court that the police were under no duty to release Mr Tutu from custody.

Mr Tutu had been legally arrested and was in lawful custody.

The police were entitled to keep him in custody until he could be brought before court on April 27.

Alternatively, the policeman who detained Mr Tutu, Warrant-Officer Pieter Gabriel Kriel, suspected on reasonable grounds that Mr Tutu had committed an offence of driving a motor vehicle while under the influence of liquor, or he had driven the car recklessly and was lawfully arrested to be brought to court.

The case has been postponed to a date to be arranged.

CSO: 3400/1084

UNREST, CRISIS PLAGUE BLACK EDUCATION

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Jun 84 p 9

[Barend du Plessis, Minister of Education and Training, Interviewed by Chris Fremond in Cape Town; Date Not Given]

[Text] FOR THE Minister of Education and Training, Mr Barend du Plessis, the past few months have been more than the proverbial baptism of fire.

Not long after his elevation to the Cabinet late last year, the time-bomb that is black education in South Africa began to smoulder dangerously.

Pupil grievances at schools in Atteridgeville, Pretoria flared into unrest. There were boycotts and there was violence. A pupil died in a confrontation with police.

The situation had all the makings of a fuse to spark a widespread scholar uprising in the mould of Soweto, 1976.

But in an important way the situation was different from 1976 — the publicly-stated attitude of Mr Du Plessis himself was a radical change from that of his Nationalist predecessors.

He wanted to negotiate a settlement to the dispute and not force anything on the pupils.

In the debate on his budget vote in Parliament in May, Mr Du Plessis summed up his approach: "I...resolved to be available to listen at all possible and impossible times because I believe black education is a matter that is too

sensitive for anyone to decide in advance whether a person who wishes to discuss a matter can make a contribution or not, whether such a person has ulterior motives and whether he really has education in mind or not.

"Therefore, I have thus-far been listening — and I intend doing so in future as well — to anyone, both friend and opponent."

Communication, Mr Du Plessis said in an interview, had become the priority of the department.

He believes that in the Atteridgeville crisis he spoke to as many people as he could in efforts to resolve the problems.

In one key session he invited 18 Atteridgeville pupils to his Pretoria home one morning — 16 of them had been expelled or suspended. They sat for three hours discussing their problems and achieving "some very constructive agreements", Mr Du Plessis said.

The meeting led to an agreement that pupils would be allowed to elect their own prefects, and it also defined their responsibilities as pupils.

It also highlighted plans for the establishment of a departmental communications system involving committees on which there will be elected representatives

of the pupils and representatives of the parents and teachers.

The committees will act as channels to the Minister for the airing of grievances and the quick solving of problems.

But the 6 000 boycotting Atteridgeville children did not return to school by the deadline he set and the schools were closed.

Asked if this meant he believed the new approach had failed, Mr Du Plessis said: "I think there is no clear answer. I think it is a yes and a no answer. Yes, in the sense that in spite of all our efforts over months we couldn't prevent closing the schools. No, on account of the fact that it ultimately boils down to having gone through the entire exercise of communication with everybody.

"It boiled down to a point where the people who were perpetrating it couldn't be convinced because the classroom situation as such eventually had nothing to do with the boycotting."

Virtually all the grievances of the pupils had been resolved, he said. The only thing left was for the children to return to the classrooms.

Short of having them physically forced into the schools and prevented by force from leaving — or throwing out their teachers

— Mr Du Plessis believes there was nothing more that could have been done.

The schools are now closed and it appears they will remain so until the end of the year.

In the meantime Mr Du Plessis is moving forward with plans to develop his portfolio and improve the image of black education.

He believes in the link between successful black education and the socio-economic upliftment of black communities.

"I believe that inside the Government we are fully aware of this problem and are addressing it on as wide

a front as possible. Efforts which we put into housing development, the creation of job opportunities and so on are evidence of this," he said.

In this respect, he believes community involvement is a key to success.

Black pupils face problems unknown to most of their white counterparts.

Many have no suitable study facilities at home, contact with their parents is often limited due to long hours spent travelling to and from work, communication on education matters is often limited due to the illiteracy or under-education of parents, and socio-economic circumstances in general are often not conducive to satisfactory study.

He is angered by condemnation of the Government's black education efforts as measured in terms of white education instead of in terms of what has been achieved in black education in the past 30 years which he says has been considerable.

He believes black education has progressed from an elitist situation to one of mass education. The enrolment of black pupils has grown from 800 000 to more

than five-million including the "homelands".

In his budget speech Mr Du Plessis said his Department would spend R709-million in the current financial year.

The department has more than 40 000 teachers, 7 000 schools and 1.6-million pupils.

Mr Du Plessis believes he is faced with the twin priorities of improving both the quality and quantity of black education.

"We have to do both because of the numbers we have to cope with, and the problems you have in developing communities, in the process of providing both basic literacy and more sophisticated education. The problem there is to get your teaching staff trained in sufficient numbers — and to fight the attrition rate.

"We as an education department are the largest market for any prospective employer and we can't compete," he said.

It was important to remember black education competes for funds with other State spending priorities, including socio-economic developments such as housing, he said.

"But the sheer numbers we have to cope with make it extremely difficult to increase the quality of education at a completely satisfactory rate.

"The growth rate of our primary school population is about 2%, which is about the normal population growth rate. But the growth rate for high schools is about 15% which tells us there is a wave coming from the primary schools to the high schools," he said.

If the department was forced to channel its resources merely to cope with rapidly increasing numbers, obviously little was left for improving quality.

Mr Du Plessis believes the department is training too many black children for careers in "academic"

fields. But he says this is not by choice.

"Wherever I go to speak to black communities, I try to emphasise the need to encourage their children to opt for the kind of education that will equip them for the jobs that are available.

"The attractive career opportunities--regardless of who you are--will lie in the technical and commercial fields, and I am not only talking about artisans, but also technicians and higher fields.

"There is also tremendous potential for commercial careers in the black communities as the business sector there develops," he said.

Mr Du Plessis says he accepts there is "some validity" in criticism that the Government spends more per capita on white education than black, but he points to the many factors--historical and contemporary--which he believes make it impossible to close the gap overnight.

In white high schools the growth rate was about the same as primary schools. Due to the greater cost of high school education, the per capita spending on white children was far higher because the percentage of white children at high school was greater than blacks, he said.

Mr Du Plessis added that another factor is that 78% of black teachers are underqualified while the majority of white teachers are fully qualified. This means salaries differ and the per capita expenditure on teachers is greater among whites.

A third factor, he says, is that considerable sums of money pumped into black education by the private sector and by farmers in farm schools are not included in the department's budget.

The high matric failure rate among black pupils is causing considerable concern and had been investigated thoroughly by the department, he said.

"I say thank goodness that we at least had a 52% pass rate. I know it's not enough, but at least from those who pass we can generate more teaching capabilities and satisfy more economic demands.

"We realise the economy needs people so it would please us no end if we could increase the pass rate," Mr Du Plessis said.

CSO: 3400/1084

SOUTH AFRICA

COMPUTER INDUSTRY WARNED OF LABOR UNREST THREAT

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 4 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by Mike Jensen]

[Text]

LABOUR unrest will become a much greater problem in sectors of commerce previously thought to be immune because they relied on a skilled workforce which was almost exclusively white.

"As increasing numbers of blacks enter arenas such as the computer and data processing industry there is no doubt that some form of unrest will happen very soon in these and other highly skilled sectors," Professor Johan Coetzee, of Business Administration at the University of Potchefstroom, told delegates at the Computing 84 congress in Sun City last week.

He said the current recession had minimised the problem so far as labour unrest was contra-cyclical — it increased when an upturn in the economy is imminent.

"So the situation is fairly stable at present. However, this has meant that business such data-processing is lagging behind in its preparedness for dealing with unrest as it has not really been confronted with the problem.

"The industry should take note of what happened in the insurance industry which was thought to be above these problems. We have an irate workforce out there which has moved into a phase of emancipation since the dispensation of 1979. Industrial development is in an adolescent stage and we are seeing a lot of irrationality in the workforce."

The degree to which this discontent was minimised would depend on how far managers were willing to promote the employment of blacks. The subsidiaries of US companies in South Africa had had a considerable impact in this area, added Prof Coetzee.

"The 350 subsidiaries have been emphasising affirmative action for years and we must recognise that these efforts have made a significant contribution to the new state of affairs. But it will probably take another 40 years before blacks are on equal managerial terms with whites."

He said the biggest difficulty faced by management in dealing with labour discontent was the fact that the work environment was still the only place where the black could hope to express his dissatisfaction to whites. As a result, the work situation had become the political arena as well.

"Can we really expect sound and harmonious labour relations if the only contact blacks have with whites is during the working day?

"Outside of this the two races live totally separate lives, so work issues and politics have become inextricably linked. If we are going to continue to have growth in equal opportunity at work we will have to be less prescriptive about the interaction of the two cultures after work hours."

ELECTRONICS INDUSTRY BOOM REPORTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jun 84 p 3

[Text]

THE electronics industry expanded at a rate of 20% to 25% last year in spite of the poor state of the economy.

The communications industry continued to grow in the application of digital electronics and the breadth and depth of the market strength illustrates the broad applicability of electronic solutions to problems facing industrialised society, says Altech's chief executive, Mr Bill Venter, in his annual review.

"Digital public telephone exchanges, digital optical fibre and microwave transmission systems, and digital PABXs — the list is seemingly endless," he adds.

Mr Venter says that, while Altech is at the forefront of this

revolution, it is not the company's aim to seek domination of the entire electronics industry.

"Our corporate strategy is targeting areas in professional electronics that are going to offer the most significant growth and the highest returns.

"This essentially means that we must concentrate on high-technology sectors of the industry and is a strategy that requires constant innovation and continuing boldness in all that we do.

"I am particularly enthusiastic about the merging of communications and computer technologies and the exciting scope that this offers," says Mr Venter.

However, the scarcity of technical skills continues to be a major problem, and the high level

of manpower requirements has virtually exhausted the source of white males, he says.

The industry will have to look to the advancement of women, blacks, coloureds and Indians to meet its needs.

Referring to Altech's prospects, Mr Venter says the group is now stronger than at any other time in its history and this is supported by the order book which stood at R320,7m at the year end compared to R266m the previous year.

"We are preparing for continued growth of at least 20% during the current year, but with an air of conservatism and flexibility that will allow us to adapt to any sudden changes in a very unpredictable economic environment."

CSO: 3400/1084

## COMPARATIVE POSITION OF TRADE UNIONS EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 May 84 p 5

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

**[Text]** TRADE unions in South Africa are in a better position than many of their labour-watchdog counterparts elsewhere in the world.

Their growth and recognition are improving compared with labour movements in the United Kingdom, Canada, New Zealand and Australia where they are losing numbers and voice in the face of recession.

But it must be remembered that industrial relations has only taken off in South Africa in the past five years and only 13% of the labour force is unionised.

Whereas unfair labour practice is a prominent issue here, protecting jobs and trying to make the minimum wage the average wage are the paramount objectives of unions abroad.

### Codes

From papers and commentaries delivered at the Chartered Institute of Secretaries and Administrators international congress in the Kruger National Park, it appears that South African management and unions alike would do well to study labour happenings in other countries.

Sir John Wood, professor of law at Sheffield University in England, advised that SA management should not seek hard and fast laws to deter-

mine unfair labour practices. They should encourage codes and allow regulation to evolve instead of being imposed upon them.

In spite of increased collective bargaining, British unions had been considerably weakened by the recession. He urged worker participation in bargaining, but stressed that it could promote industrial unrest if it was not carefully controlled.

### Conflict

"The Marxist-Leninist view is that progress is through conflict. The liberals feel progress comes through bargaining. I think the solution lies in the way I run my marriage — to plan for conflict but operate as if by agreement."

He said several UK unions would disappear if the politics they preached came about. The political dimension of black unions in South Africa, however, had to be viewed in a different light as it is a substitute for recognised party politics.

Denis Cochius, an IR practitioner who commented on Sir John's paper, said South Africa's industrial legislation was years ahead of its political reforms and unions would try to remedy this situation.

### Battlefield

"The industrial relations process in South Africa is irreversible. It is not a dress

rehearsal, but the real thing. It is now up to management to play a pro-active rather than a reactive role."

The SA battlefield had shifted from industry-wide to shop-floor level and many emerging unions insisted on negotiating conditions only at shop-floor or company level.

In New Zealand, trade unionism used to be compulsory in all industries. This stipulation was lifted in February this year.

According to the president of the Australian division of the CIS, most of the union representatives there have peculiar English accents. On Canada's West Coast, Scottish accents are more prominent.

Much publicity is given to the power of the unions in Canada. But Ken Dwerryhouse, an administrative consultant to many Canadian mining companies, says unions are essentially economic and apolitical.

"Our unions spend their time organising employees and protecting them, whether or not the measures they adopt are in the best interests of society. In Britain, the unions seem to concentrate on organising politicians and striving to change society."

This could be why only about 3-million workers out of a labour force of 12-million are unionised. They are represented by 22 000 bargaining units — meaning that collective agreements average 140 workers each.

## INDUSTRIAL UNREST TRIGGERED BY FIRINGS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 May 84 p 15

[Article by Angus Macmillan]

[Text] **DISMISSALS** are now the most significant strike trigger on the South African labour scene — and unfair dismissal is the most confusing contributor.

The confusion is caused largely by the breadth of the definition "unfair labour practice" that is bandied about in industry. Even the legal concepts are difficult to define as each case is judged on its individual characteristics.

A guide to management bewildered by the intricacies of labour relations comes in a book — *Unfair Dismissals* — by industrial relations consultant Andrew Levy.

### Case studies

*Unfair Dismissal* deals with legislation, discusses contracts and how they should end, prohibited dismissal, victimisation and reinstatement.

There are also case studies for practical background and a synopsis of common problems that plague management when it comes to hiring and firing.

According to Mr Levy, dismissals have triggered about 25% of South African strikes in the past 13 years. It ranks above grievances and comes second only to wage disputes.

Today's emphasis on unfair dismissal has brought home to management the fact that it does not have the

right to fire which it thought was the employer's prerogative.

### Legal limits

Increasingly the courts are placing limits on management's firing powers which are further constrained by the demands of aggressive unions in collective bargaining agreements.

Many employers find themselves presumed guilty until they have proved their innocence on the delicate question of unfair dismissal. Its wide interpretation makes it the most frustrating aspect of IR for management.

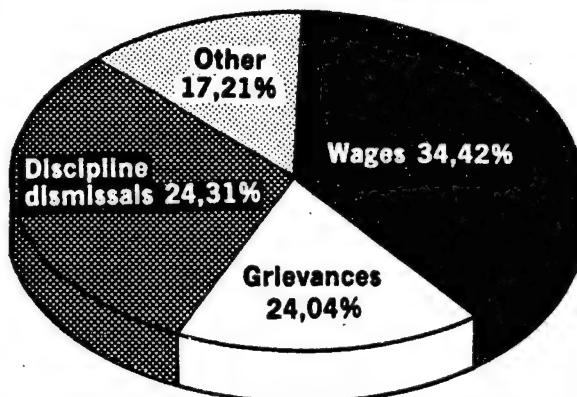
In spite of confusion over the definition of unfair labour practice, Sir John Wood, professor of law at Sheffield University in England, says South Africa should not be too keen on hard and fast rules.

From the British experience, he suggests that severe legislation is an aggravation. "Rather let a code evolve. Too much legislation will bog you down and could lead to more confrontation."

### Onus

An interesting observation in the book is that striking

### Distribution of strike triggers 1979 to 1983



employees never dismiss themselves — employers often hold that they do.

Mr Levy describes self-dismissal as a legal, physical and anatomical impossibility and useless as a defence to a charge of unfair dismissal.

In most cases of alleged unfair dismissal the onus is on the employer to prove his innocence. If victimisation is claimed by an employee, it is up to the employer to prove that it did not occur.

Mr Levy says: "The most graphic example of victimisation I have heard of is to put a man on permanent night shift, cleaning out the inside of a sewage tank with a toothbrush — but without an aqua lung."

His company, Andrew Levy & Associates, has entered into an industrial rela-

tions training venture with the Contact training group. Called Gemini IR Training Systems, it will be a separate organisation with directors from both companies.

Randall Falkenberg, Contact's managing director, says the marriage will combine Contact's skills training expertise with Andrew Levy & Associates IR knowledge.

"For example, we have a negotiating skills course that will supplement their wage bargaining programme. The aim is not to provide off-the-shelf packages, but systems approaches."

## Market

Both companies say the potential market is large as industry becomes more aware of the need for IR knowledge from the human resources director down to shop-floor level.

Unfair dismissal, effective negotiating, strike management, labour legislation and supervisory development are included in Gemini's course content.

According to Gavin Brown, a Gemini director, the shop floor is where the skills are most needed. But it is up to management to arm supervisors with such skills.

He says: "If there is a managing director in South Africa with more than 1 000 employees who thinks IR is unimportant, he won't be around much longer."

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT BLACK PRESS URGED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Jun 84 p 6

[Text] THE establishment of an independent black Press would help to speed up the process of change in South Africa, according to a visiting American journalism professor at Boston University, Professor Hank la Brie.

In an interview with The SOWETAN this week, Professor la Brie, who has been conducting training sessions for black cadet journalists in Johannesburg, said it was the habit of the establishment Press to ignore many of the important things done by and happening to black people.

He said the American situation has shown how effective the Press and the church could serve as vanguards of change. It was the Press which gave rise to the ideas of leaders such as Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther

King and WEB du Bois.

The tradition of many institutions, he added, was to refuse to change unless pressurised into doing so and it was the role of the church and the Press to exert such pressure.

In America, blacks have been so discriminated against that of the 1710 daily newspapers, only one third employed black journalists. And among them, very few held decision-making positions although the situation had changed from what it had been 10 years ago.

Blacks had been brought into journalism in the 1960s when America caught fire. White journalists were at the time afraid of operating in unrest areas such as Harlem in New York

where the majority of the population was black.

Earlier in the day, Mr Obed Kunene, editor of Ilanga in Durban, told a seminar on "The State of Black Journalism in South Africa" that many black journalists complained of paternalistic or condescending treatment they were subjected to in the white establishments.

He also said prospects of promotion for blacks were not promising. They were overlooked or by-passed and instead, less experienced whites got promotion.

He went on to say that there were still a number of blacks whose employment in certain positions was for window-dressing purposes only and that there was no evidence of editors providing fundamental training for black journalists.

CSO: 3400/1084

SOUTH AFRICA

MAIZE FARMERS LOST MILLIONS IN ROMANIAN UREA SWOP

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 29 May 84 p 3

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

**FINANCIAL** benefits to farmers of more than R20-million would have resulted if the government had not imposed restrictions on the sale of imported urea fertilizer to farmers in 1982.

In 1982 the Maize Board bartered maize for urea with Romania.

Sources claimed that the curbs on the sale of urea was an effort to protect the country's fertilizer industry.

At a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday the chairman of the Maize Board, Mr Crawford van Abo, said in spite of the restrictions imposed by the Department of Commerce and Industries, the

board's barter agreement — whereby 200 000 tons of yellow maize were exchanged for 208 000 tons of urea — benefited farmers to the extent of R6 800 000. The maize surplus at the time was four million tons.

"Had the board been allowed to sell the total consignment of 200 000 tons in 1982, benefits would have amounted to more than R27-million."

Mr Van Abo was reacting to Press reports that the barter deal had resulted in a loss of R20-million, and that the Maize Board had to shoulder the responsibility.

He said that the board had to operate under certain restrictions. It had to sell 60 000 tons of urea to the fertilizer industry at a special price of R202,50 a ton set

by the Minister of Commerce and Industries.

At that stage, Mr Von Abo said, the price of urea was R341 a ton. In spite of a surcharge of 10%, introduced after the closing of the barter agreement, and restrictions placed on the sale of the urea, the following benefits were achieved:

- Farmers had a direct saving of R6 800 000 as a result of the cheaper urea;
- If the 200 000 tons of maize had been exported normally, a loss of R17 175 000 would have been incurred;
- This loss had been trimmed to R838 000.

"All these benefits accrued in spite of the restrictions imposed on the board," Mr Von Abo said.

CSO: 3400/1084

DROUGHT BRINGS HUNGER, DEATH TO GAZANKULU

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 28 May 84 p 5

[Article by Sophie Tema]

**[Text]** THE desperate conditions in drought-stricken areas seem to be getting worse, with reports of people dying of hunger and an increase in the number of malnourished children.

Surveys conducted in Gazankulu show that the reduction of "wealth" because of cattle dying, redundancy of farm workers, and adverse weather conditions have resulted in children collapsing in schools and adults dying from hunger in some villages.

In areas where no relief programmes operate, there are increasing reports of fluctuating attendances in schools, an escalating "drop-out" rate and a lack of concentration among children at lessons.

This has been confirmed by the Minister of Health for Gazankulu, the Rev Betty Kubay, who told a representative of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI), Mr Duncan Mackenzie, and the director of the Operation Hunger campaign Mrs Ina Perlman, that adults — some over the age of 70 — had died from hunger in the area.

Miss Kubay confirmed this at a meeting in Giyani last week following a donation of R150 000 to Operation Hunger for the feeding of 40 000 starving children in Gazankulu, made at the request of the Minister.

The Minister confirmed a sharp deterioration in some areas and said one village had reported 36 cases of severe malnutrition.

The Secretary of Health for Gazankulu, Dr B Robert, said medical surveys done at schools in the northern part of Gazankulu showed that the area was one of the worst in the country.

He said only 10% of the children in the homeland could afford to take some maize

porridge (the customary staple diet) to school.

Dr Robert said a team consisting of one social worker, and staff from the Nkhensani Hospital started a feeding scheme. It cost R20 000 a month to feed 40 000 starving children.

"But there is now an element of emergency in the feeding of these children because by the end of June the feeding scheme will probably have to stop because it will have run out of funds," said Dr Robert.

Mrs Perlman said there was a need for an ongoing crisis relief programme to help stricken communities.

Mrs Perlman said: "There are numerous areas, notably in the north, where planting rains did not occur and the drought in the past three years has exacerbated, rather than caused, the situation of chronic malnutrition, poverty and disease which is the norm in black rural areas.

"And, this year shows every sign of the situation continuing.

"The indications are that the emergency feeding schemes of last year will have to be continued in many parts of the country."

Mrs Perlman says, however, that to prevent under-privileged communities becoming wholly dependent on outside help, they are to be consulted and encouraged to get involved in the formation of aid programmes.

She said: "This involvement will give them the pride of knowing that they are willing and able to help themselves develop.

"It is clear that, to be effective, aid programmes in the rural areas should be operative in the context of an ongoing, long-term plan for development, rather than simply a response to specific conditions of crisis or other disasters."

CSO: 3400/1084

ACID RAIN DESTRUCTION INCREASES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 May 84 p 1

[Article by James Clarke]

[Text] Acid rain may be ruining South Africa's world-famous bushman paintings and rock engravings. Those in the Eastern Transvaal, which has several of the world's finest and most mysterious rock engravings as well as rock paintings, are probably the most threatened.

I have been told by Wits University's archaeological department that ancient metal tools — some have withstood the elements for centuries and have been in the department's collection for up to 30 years — are "suddenly" beginning to corrode.

Rock engravings, some centuries old, are also being eaten away.

"Suddenly, about four years ago, they began deteriorating," I was told by an archaeologist there.

My guess is that the threat comes not so much from "wet" acid rain as from dry acidic fallout from power stations and Secunda.

The fact that the corrosion became marked four years ago sounds ominously as though Secunda's

sulphurous fallout may have raised acid levels to a critical level.

An air pollution expert tells me that sulphur pollution on the Rand has jumped considerably (by 10 microgrammes a cubic metre) since Secunda went on stream.

Since then, of course, new power stations have added their load.

My guess at dry fallout being the cause is based on a report I have just received from Britain's UN Review Group on Acid Rain.

Most of Britain's town statues have been badly damaged by air pollution.

The report says most of the acid is from dry deposition.

In South Africa the subject of acid rain came up in Parliament for the first time last week — a good sign.

Both sides of the House were clearly lacking data — although I think many

politicians and the public are being deliberately bamboozled by industry, which tends to make the problem sound technically and economically insoluble.

I don't believe it is. In time, I believe we are also going to begin noticing fish and vegetation dying — as they are in Europe and North America.

Another source tells me that farmers in the Transvaal and Natal are reporting that their fences are "suddenly" beginning to rust away.

Once farmers begin to be affected you can bet your sweet acid that Parliament will sit up and take notice.

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPORTS TO ISRAEL INCREASE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 May 84 p 14M

[Text] South African exports to Israel in 1982 increased by 138 percent — from R64.5 million in 1981 to R153 million, mainly because of a R47 million increase in the export of base metals.

Imports remained stable at about R72 million, giving a bilateral figure of R225 million. Twelve years ago it was only R10 million.

Provisional non-official figures for South African exports last year are R170 million, which includes insurance and freight. Israeli exports to South Africa are put at R85 million, excluding freight and insurance.

Metal and metal products make up more than 50 percent of South Africa's total exports to Israel. Any major adjustment in this export product, says Mr David Ellman, chairman of the SA-Israel Chamber of Commerce, has a major effect on the total export figure.

Steel also plays a dominant role in this category.

Writing in the South Africa — Israel Economic and Trade Annual 1983, he says: "Fortunately, the positive trend had a beneficial effect on other categories as well.

"The exports of mineral products increased by more than 200 percent — almost R10 million — to attain the figure of R14 million.

"The shipments of coal to the new Hadera power station influenced the big increase in this category."

Other categories which showed considerable increases in 1982 were vegetable products, which rose 585 percent from R4 million to R26 million, and foods and beverages, which increased 175 percent to attain R6.5 million.

Mr Ellman says that were diamonds — which

are routed through London to Israel — included, the trade gap would be considerably widened, as these are about R500 million a year.

In 1982, machinery, electrical equipment and parts became South Africa's largest category of import from Israel.

This category made up 35 percent of total imports from Israel.

CSO: 3400/1084

ALTECH POISED FOR EXPANSION INTO FIBRE OPTICS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Jun 84 p 11M

[Article by Peter Farley]

[Text] Altech has earmarked more than R8 million for the establishment of a fibre optic drawing facility at its STC Boksburg headquarters "in the near future", says chief executive Mr Bill Venter in the company's annual report.

No indication has been given, however, as to the composition of the shareholding in this venture — which has been on the cards for more than a year.

But STC managing director Mr Don Snedden says: "We strongly urge the authorities to ensure that this strategic technology is firmly in South African hands. Whilst we appreciate the emotional desire of others to enter the fibre drawing field, care must be taken not to duplicate resources that could lead to an unhealthy industry."

The establishment of a fibre optics manufacturing plant has been the subject of intense debate within the electronics and cable industries, with Aberdare, ATC and others all seeking to get a foothold in what is likely to be one of the major growth points of future years.

However, the emphasis has traditionally veered towards SA compa-

ies, a factor that has had a great deal to do with Altech's success to this point.

It now seems likely that Altech will go ahead. Although final details have not yet been announced, it seems likely that one or two others will be offered minority shareholdings to assuage bruised egos.

This will, however, be only one development in the current year which will lay additional foundations for earnings growth at Altech. The restructuring of the group and the acquisition of Asea last year has provided the platform for expansion.

The next major move must therefore be offshore. To this end Altron general manager Mr Peter Curle is already overseas, exploring potential takeover targets. The group was close to an acquisition in Britain earlier this year, but was put off by the prospect of having to pay around a 30 times earnings multiple for a less than exciting business.

It has come to terms with the fact that this level of valuation is now the norm in Europe and the US, and so it is not likely to be long before the plunge is taken. A purchase in the US would seem to be the most likely development.

CSO: 3400/1084

DEKLERK'S 'SECOND REVOLUTION' REVIEWED

By Tertius Myburgh

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 May 84 p 26

[Article by Tertius Myburg: "Hold Your Breath and Pray He's Right"]

**[Text]** FEW entrails have been more assiduously picked over, dissected and analysed than the political innards of Afrikanerdom.

This stubborn/resourceful/hateful/creative\* white tribe has been, variously, a source of bafflement, exasperation, rage and, much more rarely, even inspiration to others.

As a consequence a small, sometimes incestuous, band of political scientists, sociologists and journalists in this country and abroad have turned analyses of its workings into a sort of academic cottage industry.

For Willem de Klerk Afrikaner entrail-reading has been something of a fulltime occupation ever since he switched from theology to journalism, presumably because he felt that the fate of his fellow Afrikaners in the hereafter was of less immediate concern than their conduct in the here-and-now (or, more likely, that their place in the former would be profoundly affected by their performance in the latter).

As editor, columnist, academic, TV interviewer and ubiquitous participant in

what Afrikaners euphemistically choose to call *kultuursake*, he has been a tireless chronicler of the forces that have shaped the recent history of his people.

His speciality is to examine in minute (and often, to outsiders, maddeningly obscurantist) detail the hidden nuances of meaning in the deeds and actions of the National Party.

### Change is irreversible

No Kremlin-watcher interpreting the significance of who is standing next to whom at a May Day parade on Red Square is quicker at spotting subtle shifts in policy or power than Afrikaner-watcher De Klerk.

To his everlasting credit this extremely likeable, intelligent and not infrequently courageous man has been fairly consistently verlig; indeed, he can even lay claim to having invented the word (as well as its antonym, verkramp).

Now he has distilled his thoughts on current Afrikaner stirrings into a short book (**THE SECOND (R)EVOLUTION**, Jonathan Ball publishers).

Although written a while ago when he was, as they

say in the theatre, resting between editorships, it is of immense contemporary interest.

It is essentially an optimistic work, arguing that Afrikanerdom is slowly, yet inexorably, shifting away from the stereotype of incurable bigotry, obsessive puritanism and baasskap towards greater enlightenment, pragmatism and racial tolerance.

A sceptic might ask why the rest of mankind, and especially South Africa's

own powerless black millions, should be required to wait patiently while Afrikaners agonise over the correctness or otherwise of joining the 20th century.

But the answer probably lies in the inescapable fact that Afrikaners hold the high ground of political power in South Africa and that change cannot be achieved by going over them or around them.

We should pray, therefore, that De Klerk is right and that the chemistry of true reform is indeed at work inside the country's ruling tribe.

If it isn't and the majority of Afrikaners display a recidivist desire to return to the institutionalised intolerance of a Verwoerd, cataclysmic conflict becomes our inevitable fate.

\* Delete according to taste.

Comfortingly, De Klerk seems to view the process of change within Afrikanerdom as irreversible.

It is, he says, still in a transitional phase but it could achieve total breakthrough within six years.

He does, however, sound a warning.

There are still many "in-between Afrikaners" who are hesitating between the hard, old-time religion of bygone politics and the new, more reformist idiom of present-day NP leaders.

"The balance," he says, "is very delicate."

"If the future in South Africa becomes more ungovernable and if the new politics of the Afrikaner is brought up short by its rejection by black and brown groups, a falling back may result in attempts to find self-protection in the old policy."

That's the downside. What, if any, is the upside?

Dr de Klerk finds it in the changing sociology of the Afrikaner.

He cites the long history of internecine strife among his people and says it is a grave mistake to see Afrikaners as a uniform group.

While there are among Afrikaners, as in all groups, unifying characteristics such as lifestyle, shared history and Calvinist piety, he declares quite unequivocally that the idea of a rigidly disciplined national unit is a myth.

He writes: "The Afrikaner has been absorbed into the modern city culture ...

"Exposed to a multiplicity of convictions, trends and values, he is in the process of undergoing a culture change which is bringing with it major shifts in thinking patterns, lifestyle and outlook on life.

## A bewildering

## business

"Physical, social and mental contact with the English-speaking element is increasing to such a degree that a broad South African identity is developing among the whites alongside the typical Afrikaner cultural experience."

More, the image of the politically self-contained Afrikaner is also no longer true and probably never will be again.

Recent history as enacted in Pretoria's Skilpad Hall tends to confirm this view.

In summary, says De Klerk, the (r)evolution — he's very much taken, almost to the point of irritation, with his rather clumsy philological invention — means that the Afrikaner is a nation-in-transition to a new identity while retaining features of the old.

At the core of this change, he says, lies the Afrikaners' growing awareness that they cannot go it alone, that they must strike alliances with other races and groups to secure their future.

They have shifted from "an infantile insecurity to more adult self-assurance", recognising (much belatedly, critics would say) that all South Africa's inhabitants are entitled to economic justice, political expression and liberty.

Dr de Klerk urges blacks to recognise the "Africaness" of Afrikaners and says that, unlike the white experience of blacks, South African blacks will have to prove that they are not going to allow themselves to be carried away by "racist hate in an anti-white passion".

He fails to explain adequately (except for an unfortunate, Hennie Smit-like reference to their administrative and other shortcomings) why blacks should now be expected to display a charity towards Afrikaners that was rarely reciprocated in the past.

But we (and, one hopes, blacks) must recognise the

validity of his plea, for if we are indeed about to enter a new phase of Afrikaner-black relations it is senseless to allow past prejudice and hurt to shape the future.

De Klerk believes that the cautious, rather hesitant "verligte movement" of the late sixties and early seventies has grown into the present, more assertively confident (r)evolutionary process chiefly because of three events:

Afrikaners were shaken to the core by the riots of 1976, the Information scandal of 1978 bred scepticism about the trustworthiness of their top leaders, and the assumption of power by Mr P W Botha, who "revealed himself as a verligte by openly stating that radical changes had to be made".

Although De Klerk adds to the growth industry of constitution-making by providing his own exegesis of developments, he is inexact about predicting ultimate constitutional goals, save for forecasting that "own spheres" will be preserved for various groups, that a "grey sphere" will emerge in education, living areas etcetera, that legal discrimination will be largely abolished, and that confederalism and large-scale devolution of power will play an important part.

By sensibly taking an open-ended view of South Africa's political future, De Klerk tends to support the view expressed by Harvard's Sam Huntingdon.

According to the Huntingdon thesis (one which has, apparently, found some measure of favour among Botha strategists), reform in this country — where the Government faces stand-patters on the right wing and revolutionaries on the left — is likely to be a bewildering business.

It will involve ambiguity, concealment and deception as a device for dividing and confusing the various opponents of change.

## Refreshing

## candour

There will be log-rolling and back-scratching to shift allies and enemies from one issue to the next, to convey different messages to different audiences, to sense the eddies and tides of public opinion, and to hide ultimate purposes behind immediate rhetoric.

De Klerk, too, suggests that we should not look for clarity.

He is, nevertheless, utterly sincere in his belief in the inevitability of constructive change.

His candour in confessing Afrikanerdom's past sins and misjudgments is refreshing and exemplifies his own personal advance along this road.

Afrikaners, he says, are presently engaged in a balancing act, leaving their old world of traditional political concepts to enter a new and dangerous one.

However, the excitement of this new world is that it will open doors to something which historians will later describe as one of the wonders of the 20th century: the accommodation of races and nations in South Africa.

It is a prediction of cosmic optimism — but, like Willem de Klerk, we should hold our breaths and pray that it is justified.

By Hermann Giliomee

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Jun 84 p 8

[Article in the "Opinion" column by Herman Giliomee, University of Cape Town:  
"De Klerk Puts Seal of Approval on SA Future"]

[Text] THERE can be little doubt about the one, question Mr P W Botha's hosts will be asking him again and again on his grand tour: 'How does he as the Afrikaner leader see the future of South Africa and how do he and his people intend to help shape it?'

By co-incidence a book by Willem de Klerk, "Die Tweede (R)evolusie" (Jonathan Ball) has just appeared. The author has seen South Africa's future — and declares that it works.

Willem de Klerk is editor of *Rapport* and Afrikaner Nationalism's chief ideologue and most influential opinion-former. De Klerk's style is different from other outstanding Afrikaner editors. It is not characterised by the wry wisdom of Schalk Pienaar, the formidable dialectical skills of Piet Cillié, the jauntiness of Harald Pakkendorf or the level-headedness of Ton Vosloo.

De Klerk is, in that untranslatable Afrikaans word, "innig" — a mixture of compassion, sincerity and fervour. He has a pastoral care for his secular flock, which he above all wants to keep together.

Invariably he tries to do two things at the same time — verbalise their conflicting responses and carry them to a new, and more verlig consensus.

De Klerk has played a key role in the ideological debates of Afrikaner Nationalism. In the mid-1960s he created the terms "verlig" and "verkrampt". In the 1970s he played a vital part in formulating the ideological construct of own and general affairs which made the new constitution acceptable to

rank-and-file Nationalists.

De Klerk's views about the future, although sprinkled with a deal of wishful thinking, are perhaps the best indicator of what a strong faction in Government will be thinking and wanting to do in five to seven years' time.

De Klerk casts Afrikaner politics in dramatic terms. Between 1948 and 1960 the Afrikaners executed their first revolution by restructuring South African society in rigid, statutory compartments according to race and ethnic group.

In De Klerk's view the Afrikaners are now engaged in their second revolution. Starting in the late 1970s, the Afrikaners, he believes, are withdrawing from apartheid and are accepting "gemeenskaplikheid" — the community of values and interests — as the guiding principle in politics, the church and communal life.

The Afrikaners' erstwhile arrogance is being replaced by a recognition of their dependence; the old peremptory style is giving way to dialogue, negotiation, co-decision making and compromise.

All this had been hinted at before by verligte Nationalists. Where De Klerk advances verligte thinking is in arguing that all statutory discrimination must go and that "ethnicity as a compulsory social structure must be removed except where group interests are decisive".

Translated this means the abolition of the Immorality and the Mixed Marriages Act but not of the Group Areas Act. Instead of the removal of the latter he proposes the introduction of grey areas where white, brown and black people can live together and their children can go to school together.

De Klerk argues: "The right to participate in the grey area must be acknowledged."

Does this amount to a political and social revolution? De Klerk partly thinks so and expresses this in the ambiguous title of this book — "The Second (R)evolution". There are others who think differently. According to them the Afrikaners in the 1950s and 1960s were above all characterised by arrogance avarice and self-righteousness.

Then in the mid-seventies — after the Soweto uprising, the collapse of the white regimes to the north, Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's death and the school boycotts — they developed a pervasive sense of guilt and yearning to be loved without however wanting to change the structures upon which their power and privilege rest.

One of the those who see the Afrikaners in these terms is the writer Dan Jacobsen. He wrote: "The Afrikaners realise that 30 years of applying their apartheid policies have succeeded in making them, their language and all the institutions of their state deeply hated by the people among whom they have to live... Now that even the white Rhodesians have thrown in the towel, leaving them the only whites who are still ruling over blacks, they have something of the air of people waking up after a prolonged debauch.

"What they would like to do is to start all over again, and end up pretty much where they are now, with all their political and material possessions intact — only, somehow, purged of all their grossest prejudices, and not envied and hated at all."

These are elements in De Klerk's book which confirm this judgment. He minces no

words about the Afrikaners' right to retain the "leiers-kapsrol" — meaning both the ruling and leadership role.

Although he admits that the black groups are repelled by political apartheid, with the state determining to which ethnic group each person belongs, he insists that this should remain the foundation of the political system.

Any sign of remorse? De Klerk admits to Afrikaner arrogance and avarice but in his view "the Afrikaner is not guilty of any deliberate meanness towards people of other colour".

I would nevertheless dispute the charge that De Klerk's book is simply the mirror image of Jacobsen's charge. There is something to admire in De Klerk's unflagging efforts to get the Afrikaners to change their definition of the political situation in ways which violate what a mere 10 years ago was considered to be the essence of their political salvation.

It is easy to criticise the National Party but spurred by the moral concerns of people like De Klerk and confronted by hard economic and demographic facts, the party has moved further in deracialising South Africa than anyone would have predicted 10 years ago.

Between 1979 and 1983 it phased out statutory discrimination in the labour field. The new constitution means, in Dr van zyl Slabbert's words, that "for the first time the NP has recognised that a common governmental system, based on common citizenship of white, coloured and Asian must be worked out."

One can have serious doubts about the adequacy of the NP's formula and the exclusion of blacks but the Constitution of 1983 certainly represents a symbolic advance in the de-racialisation of South Africa.

De Klerk's book shows that the party's ideological

vanguard is now fully engaged in the difficult task of dismantling aspects of statutory social apartheid by propagating grey areas.

What we are witnessing is something between De Klerk's "revolution" and Jacobsen's sham reform or no-reform. South Africa is slowly moving from a racial oligarchy to a multiracial oligarchy with the Afrikaners still predominant politically.

Class, as distinct from racial inequalities are becoming ever more salient. Already the income gap between an urban and a rural black is larger than that between an urban white and an urban black.

The statutory race lines in the social field are slowly dissolving but whites are remaining pretty much in the same position where they have been.

The world cannot easily maintain its abhorrence of South Africa if it begins to look more and more like Brazil — where whites are disproportionately rich and powerful but where there is no statutory racial discrimination and where white rule is presented as class rule.

Perhaps Mr Botha will not project such a future to his European hosts. But if he does he will have them in an

awful tangle.

TRIBAL STRIFE RACKS UMBUMBULU

Thousands Flee

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 7 Jun 84 p 1

**[Text]** THE SITUATION remained tense in the strife-torn Umbumbulu area about 30 kilometres from Durban, where an estimated 7 000 people have fled their homes in fear of their lives.

Police have found two more bodies there, putting the known death toll in faction fighting over the last month at 66 — last weekend's fighting alone claimed 41 lives.

Many families have fled their houses to stay with relatives and friends in Ntuzuma, KwaMashu, Um-lazi, KwaMakhutha and many other black residential areas around Durban.

A number of businessmen have been compelled by circumstances to close their shops.

Scores of women and children are being sheltered at the Catholic mission station at Umbumbulu.

Schools in the area are still closed, which means that more than 10 000 pupils have missed their half-yearly

examinations, which have already been written by KwaZulu schools.

Fighting broke out over the weekend of May 4 and 5, between the Makhanya and Mkhize tribesmen.

Mr J J Kotze, Chief Magistrate of the Umbumbulu district, is on record as saying he was aware of the number of people leaving the area.  
— Sapa.

Clan Vendettas

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 8 Jun 84 p 6

**[Text]** DURBAN. — Six more bodies were found by police yesterday in the Umbumbulu faction fighting area, bringing the death toll in Saturday's bloody clash to 47 and total fatalities in the past three weeks to 72.

Police expect more bodies to be found in the dense bush and canefields.

Brigadier John van der Westhuizen, head of the detective branch in the Port Natal police division, said he had appointed a special police task force under the command of a colonel to deal with any renewed outbreaks in the area this weekend.

Police said people were afraid to talk because they feared reprisals from the opposing factions if they gave information to the police.

Faction fights have always been a part of the Zulu lifestyle. The reasons for the feuds are lost in antiquity, but it is still considered an

honourable tradition to carry on a clan vendetta from one generation to the next.

In olden days the warriors would form up against an opposing faction and fight each other in hand-to-hand combat with knobkerries, staving off counter attacks with their ox-hide shields.

Both sides adhered strictly to traditional rules of fair play and, when one or other side conceded defeat, fatalities were few.

Not so now. Stolen rifles and home-made guns, pangas, axes and long steel bars sharpened at the ends to supplement spear, assagai and knobkerries are used in no-holds-barred warfare.

The home-made firearms are ingenious. The stocks of the rifles and handguns are carved out of wood, the barrels galvanised iron piping, the firing pins fence bolts and springs.

The results, though, are quite horrifying, say the police, who collect the bodies

after a clash of the clans.

Mutilation and the removal of certain organs for mutation against the enemy are commonplace. Shooting indiscriminately at night into darkened huts occupied by men, women and children, or incineration of the occupants by setting huts and even kraals alight, are all considered fair play today.

Basically faction fights have no political connotations. They flare up without warning as a result of some provocative action or a remark that is passed.

Police believe it will take years to stamp them out — if this is ever done.

#### Law and Order Fails

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Jun 84 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] THE extraordinary scenes of violence in the Umbumbulu district on the South Coast at the weekend have in a manner of speaking made nonsense of the forces of law and order.

The continuing massacre among the Zulu people also seems to have made nonsense of all rationality. Reports from Ulundi indicate that the black leaders themselves do not exactly know which way to turn. It is a situation that defies almost all reason and thus makes it almost impossible to seek for solutions.

But solutions must be found to stop this nation from tearing itself apart in this senseless manner. The fighting is reported to have gained its gravity early last

month in this particular area, and with intermittent threats of massive attacks, the number of those who have now died exceeds 50. There has at the same time been destruction of property.

While there has been some kind of lull in the urban faction fights, some sources are saying the situation in the rural areas is becoming very grave. It is said that the situation has taken a serious turn in that there are gangs of marauders, men who are out of work who have joined the "traditional" factions. The families in the area are living in constant fear and tension. Many of them have deserted their homes, so that the gangs and the impis have open house, as it

were, to peoples' property and household goods.

The police have made arrests in the latest outbreak but it seems their operation is being strangled by all sorts of factors.

There are residents who say they have lost confidence in the police staunching the malaise. They claim that there are certain officials, including members of the police, who have become directly involved in the problem.

Constant reports on the situation might spring certain solutions if only because we are able to put together the disparate pieces and make a certain amount of sense out of this senselessness. It is our considered opinion that only when we are able to place the situation in some kind of perspective will we be able to make headway towards seeking solutions. At the moment everybody seems confused.

We are not so optimistic that we believe quick answers will become readily available. The situation is complex and is being made worse by extraneous elements entering the traditional faction fights.

We are afraid the leaders in the area have a big headache which they will have to deal with unemotionally and with speedy wisdom. If that is not done the situation will get steadily worse, and we shudder to think that the great Zulu nation can be torn apart by itself.

CSO: 3400/1085

## SOUTH AFRICA

### RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jun 84 p 12M

[Article by Gavan O'Connor]

**[Text]** South Africa spent R497 million on research and development during 1981/82 — a sharp increase of 37 percent over 1979/80.

The result of research is an annual saving of millions of rands for the country, says Dr Chris Garbers, president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

Research and development figures released in Pretoria show that this part of Government spending accounted for 0,76 percent of the Gross Domestic Product.

But, said Dr Garbers recently, the value of research is difficult to represent in financial terms.

"The question is not whether South Africa can afford the research, but whether South Africa can afford not to invest more money in research."

The Government spent the most on research and development in 1981/82, accounting for 43,1 percent but the business sector's share has now increased to 37,5 percent from 32,4 percent in 1979/80.

#### SAVINGS

Tertiary educational organisations such as universities contributed 19 percent of spending.

Dr Garbers named some of the monetary savings afforded the country by research:

- R400 million could be saved if the black housing backlog was tackled using a technique developed by the CSIR.
- Pavement management systems would save some road authorities R20 million a year.
- A saving of R7 million to R15 million in prevented injury was saved each year after safety belt research had helped introduce legislation.
- Repairs to cracking homes built on clay soils will cost R1 000 million in the next 20 years. The CSIR has developed a way of preventing cracks in new homes.

#### INVOLVED

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said 23 percent of research

and development spending was aimed at the primary economic sector, 36 percent at the secondary, 12 percent at infrastructural services, six percent at health services, 11 percent at education and 12 percent at the general advancement of knowledge.

It said 24 646 people were involved in research in South Africa. In 1983, 1 091 of these workers were at the CSIR.

In the 1982 annual report of the institute, Dr Garbers said researchers tended to leave the CSIR after three to six years.

But, he said, the CSIR helped industry by supplying trained research staff.

CSO: 3400/1084

SOUTH AFRICA

DETAILS OF DEFENSE WHITE PAPER REPORTED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 23 May 84 p 6

[Article: "The Armed Laager"]

[Text]

Last month's White Paper on defence and armaments supply underscored the government's policy of "force and diplomacy" in Southern Africa. The much-publicised Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique (AC Vol 25 No 2) appears to have healed the tendency of the dominant military element in the "ruling" National Security Council to eschew the diplomacy advocated by the more intellectual Afrikaner establishment. South Africa's regional policy is now clearer, and projected further ahead, than it has been for many years: the refined version of Pretoria's "total onslaught" strategy, which entails the preempting of "onslaught" from the front-line states, for the first time is seen to have attainable objectives.

Assuming Pretoria believes it now has a satisfactory *modus vivendi* with Mozambique, it is likely that Pretoria will tolerate eventually a SWAPO government in Namibia provided Angolan-South African negotiations now underway result in military isolation of SWAPO. The military would probably prefer the timing of nominal independence for Namibia, meaning in effect the withdrawal of South Africa's military front-line to the Orange River, to be partly dependent on how quickly South Africa's nation-wide civilian "commandos" can become combat-ready.

The concept of "area defence", in which civilians play a constant military role, was first put into practice in 1974. The 1982 Defence Amendment Act, obliging active males between the age of 35 and 55 to spend annually at least 12 days on military service in commando units, greatly speeded the process of militarisation. The new White Paper notes that the commando system has been implemented successfully in Northern and Eastern Natal and is being implemented in Northern and Western Transvaal. The country is now divided into 10 territorial command areas. These are each divided into up to six commando group areas, which in turn are each divided into up to nine commando units. This year 12 more commando areas are due to become operational. (The White Paper notes that it will probably take several years to organise combat-ready commando areas throughout the country, and that the main difficulty lies in getting enough manpower).

A key element to nation-wide defence is a comprehensive communications system - the Military Area Radio Network (MARINET). The White Paper notes that the system in the Northern Transvaal and Natal command areas was updated (partly with Marconi and Plessey equipment) at the end of last year. Similar updating appears to be more-or-less complete in the north-west region; in the eastern region work is underway; and in Orange Free State work is due to begin later this year.

Another important part of the military build-up is the construction of airforce bases close to the frontiers. A number of such bases have been completed in Transvaal and Natal. A major fighter base is under construction at the northern town of Louis Trichardt. Public roads in a number of front-line areas have been modified to act as runways; many more such road runways are planned.

Though the White Paper rarely goes into detail, an already well-publicised theme is repeated: shortage of money, the difficulty of getting spare-parts for aircraft, and the difficulty of producing domestically the sophisticated equipment and technology needed to replace out-of-date aircraft. The paper bemoans ANC and SWAPO tactics of getting the protection of surface-to-air missiles and anti-aircraft guns. Mention is made specifically of the Soviet-made SAM-8 mobile system. (SADF encountered it during its Operation ASKARI campaign into Angola last December).

Of the one million or so white males in South Africa between the age of 18 and 45, one fifth at any one time are under arms. Including all commandos, there are now well over 500,000 combat-ready troops available. And over one million private citizens have a firearms licence.

CSO: 3400/1084

GOVERNMENT COMMENTS ON PRODUCTION OF OFF-SHORE GAS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Bert van Hees]

**[Text]** CAPE TOWN. — Government sources yesterday played down reports that South Africa was ready to produce off-shore natural gas from a major field established off the Cape Coast.

Commenting on a report on South Africa's petrol bonanza, a spokesman for the Minister of Mineral and Energy affairs, said: "It is nothing quite as dramatic as that."

Although Soekor — the State-funded oil exploration organisation — had reached its target reserves, or was on the verge of doing so, "this is no new discovery, and there is nothing dramatic in it," the spokesman said.

He said gas had been discovered "in certain locations" but this did not mean that South Africa was ready to use it.

**Proposal**

"You can say the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Dawid Steyn and the Department, are awaiting proposals from Soekor on how

the gas is to be used" he said.

A spokesman for Soekor, Mr Mike Leibbrandt said the organisation had mentioned several times in the past that it was aiming at a target reserve figure of one-trillion cubic feet of gas.

This, he said, would enable Soekor to produce about 20 000 barrels of liquid fuel a day for about 20 years.

"The current situation is that, as a result of drilling operations in the past, we now confirm that we are certainly approaching this figure, but stress that we are engaged in extensive and complex studies regarding the possible production of Mossel Bay gas.

**Final form**

"When we have all the data available in final form, it will be submitted to the Cabinet for its decision in regard to possible production.

"Due to the many factors involved, and the complex nature of the studies, it might take some time before the Cabinet is in a position to make a final decision," Mr Leibbrandt said.

Earlier this week, the Minister had said Soekor

was engaged in detailed investigations into the production of oil and gas. A decision would be made by the Cabinet in two or three months, he said.

Offshore exploration experts believed the cost of establishing a North Sea-type field about 100km off Mossel Bay would be paid for in five to seven years. They also said the discovery of other fields — including crude oil producers — was just around the corner.

**Revenue**

Much of the revenue would be poured back into a stepped-up offshore exploration programme.

Mr Steyn said the Cabinet would have to be convinced that the production was feasible and viable, according to a spokesman for his department.

Mr Leibbrandt said Soekor had found mainly gas, and would approach the Cabinet with specific recommendations. It had to be decided which of the options on what to produce would be most preferable in the South African situation.

A technique developed for New Zealand could be

used to manufacture petrol and diesel from natural gas, or engineers could produce other products such as methanol or ammonia.

**Viability**

"It is a valid conclusion, considering the quantity of gas deemed potentially viable, that there must be a case for production now or in the near future," Mr Leibbrandt said.

Offshore exploration experts say the field would strengthen the economy of the country, and provide many jobs in South Africa.

The Minister recently had talks with Soekor. Production platforms would be built mainly by South African firms and assembled off the coast.

Gas production would be the first step toward a new national industry, second only to space in the technical expertise required, said one engineer.

If the Government approved plans for production, a newly-designed hi-tech refinery may be built on the South Coast, possibly at Mossel Bay, to convert the gas to petrol and diesel. Gas would be pumped ashore through a pipeline.

CHURCH ACCUSED OF PROMOTING RACIAL OPPRESSION

Durban POST NATAL in English 23-26 May 84 p 18

[Article by Kanthan Pillay]

[Text] THE Church in South Africa has long been at the forefront of the struggle for black political rights.

Whether it be as the apartheid-supporting "whites-only" Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk, or the "coloured" NG Sending Kerk which declared apartheid to be a heresy, South Africa's racial policies have always come under the spotlight by different church groupings — all claiming the right to be called "Christian".

But has the Church's role been merely one of a political commentator? Or has it in some ways actively enriched and promoted the growth of apartheid?

In a keynote address at the annual day of the Durban-based church agency, Diakonia, the Rev Frank Chikane — director of the Institute of Contextual Theology — suggested that the Church had promoted the cause of racial oppression.

Speaking on the Diakonia Day theme — *The Role of the Church in the Struggle for a Just Society* — Mr Chikane ex-

plained the most important aspect of the topic: *the Church as an agent of change*.

"Any honest Christian must admit that the Church does not have a good tract of history," said Mr Chikane.

"During the Constantinean era, the Church participated in the persecution of 'sects' and 'dissidents'. During the colonisation of the Third World, the Church legitimised the conquest and sometimes the extinction of so-called 'pagans'.

"Thus the Church collaborated in brutal colonial enterprise."

In this way the Church in South Africa stood accused as an accomplice in the development of "the most de-humanising system in the world".

Apartheid, he said, had been declared a heresy by the international Christian community. And because of this, the Church could not but carry the blame for the "hundreds and thousands of lives" taken by apartheid.

"Whether it be the Afrikaans church — which

is quite blatant, or the English church — which does exactly the same in a more 'dignified' fashion, the Church must take responsibility for both the naked and structural violence of the system and the unfortunate but necessary process of counter-violence."

There was however a "beacon of hope" through this "grim history of a horrifying church". This was due to a few prophetic voices which had laid down their lives for justice and peace.

"We need to thank the World Council of Churches' contributions towards fighting racism, and the new vision of a theology committed to liberation — a theology which is being developed in the process of participation in the struggles of the people."

Turning to the "challenges of the future", Mr Chikane said the Church in South Africa "is faced with the most flagrant violations of human life in the form of relocations and resettlements.

"The Church is faced with the Bantustans which are becoming more violent and more repressive by the day. People now fear the brutality of the Bantustan leaders more than they do the chains of Botha.

"The Church is faced with the reality of the unequal distribution of wealth of the country leaving many hungry, even unto death in the land of plenty. It is faced with a voteless majority forced to pay equal tax for unequal distribution of that very state revenue."

What then, Mr Chikane asked, is the Church called on to do?

- Firstly, the Church should accept that its concern was not only with spiritual matters but that it was also involved in the worldly plight of humanity.
- Secondly, the Church should be actively committed to the promotion of a just society where there will be no exploitation of one person by another, no accumulation of wealth into the hands of a few at the expense of the majority.
- Thirdly, there must be an alliance of the Church with the masses struggling for radical social justice.

"The consequences of this challenge poses a number of problems.

"It demands that the

Church must understand its society to be able to address itself to sociological, economic, and political problems. The Church will have to decide on which side it stands.

"And we must clarify what we mean by 'a just society'. If we cannot agree on that basic concept of our vision of a just society, we will never attain our goals."

SOFASONKE PARTY SUES BOPHUTHATSWANA

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 6 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text] **THE Sofasonke Party is suing the Bophuthatswana Government for R35 000 for an alleged wrongful arrest of its officials and their being allegedly called "communists" by a Bophuthatswana police officer.**

In a letter of demand addressed to Bophuthatswana's Ministry of Law and Order, Sofasonke Party's lawyers claim that their clients were wrongfully and intentionally injured in their good names and reputations by being called "communists".

The letter says the eight Sofasonke Party members were in Winterveldt on May 20 this year when a Colonel Molope of the Bophuthatswana police pointed a firearm at Messrs D S Malunga and J Mokoena.

**Officials**

Two other officials, Messrs J Mokotong and R Manana were allegedly arrested and imprisoned by the same policeman.

Mr Malunga told The SOWETAN that the incident took place when Sofasonke Party officials

attended a meeting of the Seopensengwe Party to which they had been invited.

The meeting was to protest against the withdrawal of bus services between Mabopane and Pretoria and the introduction of a new train service.

Mr Mokotong and Mr Manana are each claiming R11 500, of which R10 000 is for wrongful arrest and R1 500 is for being called communists. Mr D S Malunga and Mr J Mokoena are each claiming R3 000, of which R1 500 is for being pointed at with a firearm and the other R1 500 for being called communists.

Messrs A Modisha, J S Makgopela, J Matseke and I Maboa are each claiming R1 500 for being called communists.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### REDDY BACKS TUGELA BASIN DEVELOPMENT

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 1 Jun 84 p 1

[Article by D. S. Rajah]

[Text] "The Tugela Basin is favourably situated for industrial development and has good transport facilities, adequate labour, vast coal reserves and most important it has abundant water resources. Dr J.N. Reddy, Leader of Solidarity said in calling for the development of the Tugela Basin.

"The Tugela Basin offers tremendous potential for development into a growth area to the same extent as the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Secunda industrial complex.

"Its position along the Reef-Durban axis makes it conveniently accessible to Witwatersrand, Durban and O.F.S. markets and is conveniently closer to export and plant import points," he said.

"The peace talks with neighbouring also

opens up a vast market in the Southern African region," said Dr Reddy at a meeting at the Stanger Town Hall last week.

Dr Reddy further elaborated that economic development in South Africa has been characterised by a concentration of industrial activities in a few metropolitan areas where resources are taxed to the maximum.

The Vaal River is

not able to provide the water needed for industrial development and this was clearly evident in the recent drought when the deficiency was compensated by pumping water across the Drakensberg from the Tugela to the Vaal catchment area to serve the PWVS complex.

"The problem of concentration of growth in a few core areas is well recognised in most developed parts of the world. South

Africa has accepted the regional development strategy for policy planning purposes aimed at the exploitation of the full potential of each region including mining, agriculture, services and industries.

"In order to promote economic development in the 'poor' regions, decentralisation has been accepted as a planning concept. Not much effort has been made by the government, however, to

reduce regional inequalities.

"The development potential of the Tugela Basin must be exploited and forward planning is necessary to cater for the demands of the market place.

"There is a vast reservoir of labour in Natal and one cannot neglect the creation of employment opportunities for the hundreds of youth who come on to the labour market each year.

"Solidarity supports the free enterprise system and investments which could play a vital role in the development of the region. The educational programme must also be supportive and provide the skills required in the new technological electronic era," concluded Dr Reddy.

At the meeting in Stanger Mr Yunus Moola, a leading civic personality and Chairman of the Natal Association of Local Affairs Committee, vice-president of the National ad

hoc Committee of the Association of Local Affairs, Management and Consultative Committee of South Africa, a member of the Administrator's Consultative Committee on Local Government pledged his whole-hearted support for Solidarity.

"I am impressed by Dr Reddy's call for unity and it is imperative that we transcend narrow sectarian views among the Indian community in order not only to build a strong community organisation but also to strive for a non racial society based on justice. While I recognise the limits of the new constitution, it nevertheless affords an appropriate forum to express and achieve our end goals," said Mr Moola.

Mr Moola also stated that it was Dr Reddy's positive and constructive leadership and his concern for the underprivileged that motivated his support for Solidarity.

CSO: 3400/1084

## SOUTH AFRICA

### NAIDO EXPLAINS SOLIDARITY AIMS, QUALIFICATIONS

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 1 Jun 84 p 10

[Ex-high school principal, now literacy researcher at the University of Durban-Westville, M. S. Naidoo is a member of the Working Committee of Solidarity]

[Text]

#### 1. WHY I JOINED SOLIDARITY

I joined Solidarity because I was influenced by 2 main reasons: one, the core members of the Party are drawn from various walks of life, thus representing a cross-section of the Indian community. From statistics it can be reasonably concluded that Solidarity as a Party is enjoying the support of an increasing number of the masses; the other is the policy of Solidarity for a peaceful change to which I readily subscribe.

The apartheid policy is the cornerstone of the Nationalist fort. The Group Areas Act, the Immorality and Marriage legislations and other obnoxious and unjust Acts are the fabric of apartheid, which is not only an affront to human dignity but also destructive and pernicious. As a result of this, reactionary forces are in operation, the evidence of which is seen in terrorism and in bomb explosions. Our people are living amidst danger and insecurity. The causes of this predicament lie in the iniquities of the unjust laws. These must be eradicated. Solidarity believes that it can be done by urging the Nationalists, by peaceful methods, to effect changes for the good of the country.

#### 2. WHAT SOLIDARITY HOPES TO ACHIEVE

The new constitution of the Nationalists has become a law. Regretably the non-Whites were not even invited to participate in the formulation of the constitution. Admittedly, there are clauses in the constitution that are clearly "White domination" orientated.

Whilst there are flaws in the new dispensation, Solidarity believes that an opportunity has been created for communication and negotiation in the tricameral parliament. Today, the world over, people are resorting to dialogues which have become historic events for peaceful settlement and progress. Solidarity is prepared to use the tricameral parliament as a platform to debate and discuss contentious and unjust issues for the betterment

of all segments of the South African population. What Solidarity is concerned with primarily are the realities of problems and challenges that ought to be resolved in a practical way. Solidarity in the final analysis hopes to see that all the races of this country live united and content, free in a non-apartheid country.

#### 3. HOW I AM QUALIFIED TO DEAL WITH MATTERS RELATING TO THE THIRD CHAMBER OF THE PARLIAMENT

Having sprung from a poor family, I toiled hard under trying conditions to achieve my ambition in life. From an early age I worked for the Child Welfare and FOSA, and for the well-being of pensioners.

My knowledge in civic matters gained from my participation in the local ratepayers' association, Hindu Cemetery and Crematorium Committee and Sydenham Social Circle, has stood me in good stead to understand the basic needs and aspirations of our people in general.

Furthermore, my educational background constitutes a part of my equipment to afford me with some degree of competence to participate and contribute in issues that deal with human problems. I am aware that emphasis is on "our affairs", which smacks of the apartheid policy, but with vision and tireless effort, attempts could be made to replace 'own affairs' with 'general affairs'. It may take some time.

#### 4. HOW I SEE THE EDUCATION PORTFOLIO OPERATING

No-one doubts that the present educational system operating for the Indians is studded with defects. One would like to see one single Minister in charge of Education for all the races of South Africa, instead of the present fragmentation with its own administrative hierarchy.

The teaching profession must be regarded as the "origin" of all professions and occupations, for without a sound secondary education efficiency in other professions must of necessity suffer.

Aspirations of communities and modern educational trends in keeping with new concepts in philosophy of education, are matters that need to be kept in mind. In this regard, the Teachers' Association should be recognised as a very important cog in the educational system, whose guidance and advice must be sought at all times.

In attempting to attain the highest and optional standard of education for the Indian children, one must not lose sight of the fact that the education of children of other races must also be on a par, so that peaceful co-existence, without any prejudice and instability, could be ensured for all racial groups.

CSO: 3400/1084

POLICE HARASSMENT OF AZAPO, NIC RAPPED

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 25 May 84 p 4

[Editorial: "First Choice for Victims"]

[Text] Since housing for Indian South Africans is an 'own affairs' matter, the Director-General of Community Development was correct in saying that the allocation of sites in Cato Manor will be dealt with by the House of Delegates.

This has of course been on the cards for some time. A great deal therefore depends upon which persons represent the Indian community in the House of Delegates.

Those who manipulate the boycotters have a plan. They want the whole exercise to be a complete flop. For they do not have the remotest interest in promoting peaceful reform. Which is why they demand all or nothing immediately, knowing full well that such a stand only provokes counter-reaction. They hope that by the maintenance of the status quo, oppression will continue and the people will in sheer desperation rise up in revolution.

The vast majority in the Indian community want full and equal rights. But they do not want ashes. They will persist in their campaign for their rights, yet in a manner that is peaceful even if that means a somewhat longer route.

But the boycotters also do not want the House of Delegates to be controlled by those who will work for the benefit of the community. For that will mean participation in reform. They would rather that Indian affairs be controlled by the self-serving element that has made such a hash of matters in the SAIC in the

past two years. For if that happens, the community will continue to lose faith.

Cato Manor is a touch-stone. THE GRAPHIC started the campaign for its return. THE GRAPHIC has all along insisted that first choice must be given to former residents of Cato Manor and/or their descendants. Next choice to other group areas victims. Not at the inflated prices asked for but at low prices even if these have to be heavily subsidised. Justice must be done. It can be done if the right people control the House of Delegates.

**STOP THE RAIDS!**

There may well be an inter-relationship between allegations of police harassment of members of the N.I.C. and the country-wide police raids upon AZAPO members.

While the N.I.C. may possibly put out the reports that it has done purely to gain sympathy — and it is noteworthy that Mr Paul David tells of what others have told him but makes no allegation that he himself was troubled — the raids on AZAPO are there for all to see.

Whether there is any connection or not, one thing is clear. Police harassment of political groups is common in Soviet Russia but is quite unacceptable in any country that claims to follow democratic patterns.

It may well be true that certain Leftist politicians within S.A. who constantly make demands for the right of free speech

consistently deny that to those with whom they disagree. But everyone who espouses democracy will, to paraphrase Voltaire, defend to the utmost the rights even of those with whom they may most profoundly disagree.

Both AZAPO and the Natal Indian Congress (which in this instance obeyed the UDF for whose decision it waited) oppose participation in the proposed tricameral parliament. It may quite properly be argued that those who wish to boycott are perfectly entitled to do so. It may even be argued that boycotters should not harass or intimidate those who do not wish to boycott. For democracy means that every person should be entitled to think matters out for himself without any kind of undue pressure. That such undue pressure has been exerted by some of boycotters has also been alleged.

Nevertheless, the argument as to the pros and the cons ought reasonably be left to the several contending parties. The security police must keep right out of it.

CSO: 3400/1084

HISTORY OF NIC REVIEWED

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 25 May 84 p 4

[Article by Sadiq Alli in the "Spotlight" column: "Where Does the NIC Really Stand?"]

[Text] The Natal Indian Con-

gress, which insists that it is the same organisation that was founded by Mahatma Gandhi, has had an interesting career.

Founded by the Mahatma it played an important role in the affairs of our people. After Mahatma Gandhi left for India, the Natal Indian Congress went into the doldrums. In the 1930's however, it was revived and came under the control of the moderates under the leadership of persons like the late Sorabjee Rustomjee, A.I. Kajee, P.R. Pather and so on.

In the mid-1930's, there came into prominence a group of young men, prominent among whom were H.A. Naidoo, Dawood Seedat, M.D. Naidoo and others, who strongly proclaimed their loyalty to the principles of the Communist Party of S.A. (H.A. Naidoo later went off to the Soviet Union and lived for a time in Budapest.) The young Turks styled themselves the Forward Bloc and were what was termed

the 'militant wing' of the N.I.C.

THE MILITANTS

Then came the Pegging Act and its follow-up anti-Indian legislation and when, after Kajee and Pather had signed the Pretoria Agreement, community reaction swung largely behind the militant group. In 1945 there was the rout of the Old Guard and the 'militants' completely took over the N.I.C.

The Passive Resistance Campaign of 1945/46 against the Pegging act roused the imagination of the entire Indian community and the Natal Indian Congress gained tremendous support.

In 1952 the N.I.C. made itself part of the more wide-spread Defiance Campaign that was initiated and controlled by what then came to be known as the Congress Movement, in which the African National Congress was the biggest partner but which was effectively controlled and managed by certain key people who were dedicated Communists owing loyalty to Soviet Russia.

INDIANS APPALLED

Many members of the Indian community were appalled by this development. They saw that the Natal Indian Congress had become one small cog in a much larger Congress machine and that the key decisions were being made in Johannesburg under the control of persons like Michael Harmel, Moses Kotane and others who were loyal supporters of Soviet-style Communism. They left the Natal Indian Congress.

But with typical stupidity the Government banned decent, patriotic, loyal South Africans like Chief Albert Luthuli and Dr Mohambry Naicker and many other non-Communists in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

Inevitably, large numbers of decent South Africans reacted with revulsion to these banings. And there also arose the thought that if a good man like Dr Naicker could be called a Communist by the Government, then Communists can't be bad.

A COVER

Then also the McCarthy-like witch-hunt actually provided sym-

pathy for those alleged to be Communists. Quite naturally, therefore, the wild allegations by Vorster provided a wonderful camouflage for the real supporters of Soviet Imperialism to work under cover. If large numbers of people are wrongly maligned then the real ones can hide easily among them.

Then came the 1956 crunch when Soviet Russia invaded Hungary. Many erstwhile supporters of Soviet Russia had the scales removed from their eyes. They saw the Soviet Union for what it was — a nascent Imperial Power that is today larger and stronger than the Roman Empire ever was and more widespread than the British Imperialists could ever have dreamt of becoming.

Just before this, the Nationalists systematically banned leaders of the N.I.C. Real supporters of Soviet Russia as well as those who were ardent and dedicated democrats were lumped together. More sympathy for those banned. But the N.I.C. went into a state of suspended animation.

Until then, the Natal Indian Congress at its conferences regularly passed resolutions condemning the British, French and Belgian governments over their imperial activities. There was not a single word of criticism of Soviet Russia. Never.

#### **SINCE REVIVAL**

Since its revival by Mr Mewa Ramgobin, the N.I.C. has steered clear of making pronouncements on inter-

national affairs. But if it is a continuation of the organisation founded by Mahatma Gandhi, it cannot ignore its own past — until and unless it repudiates that past. This it has not done. So there is need for it to explain as to why it has maintained a deafening silence over the Russian massacre of innocent Asians in Afghanistan. It must explain why it remains silent on the genocidal mass murders perpetrated by the Vietnamese in Kampuchea.

But it may claim that it has nowadays decided to remain aloof from international affairs that do not touch South Africa directly. If it does say that, then its silence over the evils of Russian Imperialist actions may be explained.

#### **SOUTHERN AFRICA**

Yet, in view of the fact that prominent N.I.C. spokesmen quoted Robert Mugabe with approbation, what do they now say of the massacres by Mugabe's Fifth Brigade in the Ndebele part of Zimbabwe? They lauded Samora Machel. What do they say of his actions against the A.N.C.? And of the Nkomati Accord?

The Natal Indian Congress claims to be descended from Mahatma Gandhi, that Apostle of Peace. The African National Congress (rightly or wrongly, and there are pros as well as cons) is dedicated to violent revolution. Does the Natal Indian Congress approve of the ANC role? Does it? Or does it not? There can be no equivocation.

SOLIDARITY OFFICIAL ON PARTY GOALS

Durban THE GRAPHIC in English 18 May 84 p 4

[Interview with Ismail Omar, Chairman of the Organisation and Membership Committee of Solidarity; Date, Place Not Given]

[Text] **WHY DID YOU JOIN SOLIDARITY?**

*It offers clean administration, integrity and honesty. Also, the party is made up of people who come from different walks of life and people who joined together because they share a common concern for the future of our community.*

**IS IT TRUE THAT SOLIDARITY IS GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED?**

*That is a gross untruth. Solidarity is seen by some politicians and groups as a threat to their power base. Since they have no valid criticism of the principles on which Solidarity is founded, they resort to lies such as Solidarity is Government sponsored, or that it is elitist, or sectional, or a front for some sectors of the community. I categorically deny these accusations. Solidarity is open to all and welcomes all. No one in the community need fear Solidarity because it will cater for the interests of the entire community, even those that don't support it.*

**IS IT TRUE THAT PARTICIPATING IN THE NEW DISPENSATION WILL MEAN SENDING INDIAN YOUTH TO THE BORDER?**

*That is not true either. Solidarity as a matter of policy opposes conscription until and unless a fair and just society is attained in South Africa. Solidarity's standpoint is that the*

*whole question of conscription is not one which will be determined by abstention or participation. The community, if it stands solidly behind Solidarity, can urge the case against conscription more forcefully and with one voice through its elected representatives inside Parliament where it counts. That will be far more effective than the AD HOC shouting from the sidelines by different groups.*

**WHY DID SOLIDARITY ASK FOR AN ELECTION INSTEAD OF A REFERENDUM?**

*There are many reasons, a few of which are:*

*Firstly, if the referendum question was whether the Indian community accepted the constitution, our reply is that it does not. No self-respecting Indian person accepts the constitution as it is phrased at the moment. It is grossly inadequate and unfair. We don't need to waste money on a referendum to answer that. That money would be better spent on schools, instead.*

*Secondly, a true referendum would mean that in the event of a no answer, the present constitution would be thrown out. This could have happened in the case of the Whites who could have rejected the constitution. We were not given the choice, the Government would have*

proceeded with the dispensation regardless. What is the point then, and where would it lead us?

Thirdly, our community is in need of leadership, not an attitude, referendum one week, election the next, referendum again, election again. Neither could it accept the choice offered by one group that supported a referendum (using Government machinery) but refused to state loudly and clearly that it would participate if the majority wished it so. That was hedging on a vital issue. Solidarity provided leadership, regardless of the popularity stakes, and did not display double standards.

Finally, we believe an election provides an opportunity to determine once and for all who in fact speaks for the community.

#### WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SAIC AND THE THIRD CHAMBER?

Briefly, the SAIC was a consultative body whereas the House of Delegates is in fact a part of Parliament itself. Whereas the SAIC was also an administrative body based in Durban, the Cape Town House of Delegates is a forum for discussion with the actual Government of the country.

The SAIC dealt with the laws that were already passed, whereas the Third Chamber will have an opportunity, at Multiracial Joint Committees to challenge and influence unjust legislation before it becomes law. The SAIC had a limited audience, the new Parliament I believe could have national and even international attention.

#### BY PARTICIPATING IN THE NEW SYSTEM, AREN'T YOU COLLABORATING WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND HOW DO YOU AVOID BEING HELD RESPONSIBLE AS CO-GOVERNORS FOR UNJUST ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT LIKE THE MASS REMOVALS OF PEOPLE FROM THEIR HOMES?

Can you call Helen Suzman a collaborator?

Is the PFP held responsible as co-governors?

And this despite all the unjust legislation that has come from the Parliament of which they are part?

Helen Suzman has worldwide recognition as champion of the underdog in South Africa. She could only do so being inside Parliament, not outside.

#### WHAT IS YOUR POLICY ON EDUCATION?

We believe in a single education system for the country, without interference by politicians for political gains. We believe in restoring the dignity of the teacher which we see as having been badly tarnished. There must be no political constraints or inhibitions.

#### DO YOU SEE THE NIC/TIC OR NPP AS YOUR MAIN OPPONENTS?

Neither. We differ in strategy only. Our real adversary is the Government of this country which must be exposed to the injustices it perpetrates. And it is time that we stopped fighting amongst ourselves and focussed our fight on the true adversary.

#### WHAT SUPPORT DOES SOLIDARITY ENJOY?

I think Solidarity represents the political aspirations of the silent majority. We enjoy support from all sectors of our people, regardless of status or religion.

#### WILL SOLIDARITY WIN THE ELECTIONS?

If our people are concerned about their future, and I believe they are, then they will come forward and ensure that Solidarity wins.

#### AND FINALLY, WHAT ARE THE LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES OF YOUR PARTY?

To bring change by peaceful means, to achieve a non-racial society and a fair dispensation for all South Africans, regardless of colour. Our ultimate aim is the creation of a single Parliament for South Africa

*which will provide for a just representation of every South African. We will seek to provide more jobs for all, a stable society, better educational opportunities as I believe that there is ample place for all South Africans in this beautiful country of ours.*

CSO: 3400/1084

## SOUTH AFRICA

### BUSINESSMEN WARNED ON TRADE WITH MAPUTO

#### Infrastructure Destroyed

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 5 Jun 84 p 10

[Text] ONE of the first South African businessmen to enter Mozambique after the Accord of Nkomati, returned this week disillusioned and with the conviction that any trade between the two countries will be impossible.

Representing a large South African importing and export company, Mr Coetzee Nortje of Pretoria visited Mozambique last week in an attempt to secure contracts with Mozambique companies for the export of motor vehicle parts to Mozambique and to import prawns into South Africa.

"On entering the country and seeing the absolute chaos and poverty, I already had my doubts, but after seeing officials of the prawn and motor industry, I was left with no doubt that Mozambique was in no position to establish trade relations with South Africa — or any other country for that matter. Too much money would be needed to build up the country again," he said.

Mr Nortje said his company decided after the Nkomati Accord to be

one of the first to act in the spirit of the Accord, especially after assurances from both the governments of South Africa and economists that such trade would be advantageous to those involved.

Mr Cronje had no trouble in entering Mozambique, but met with his first obstacle in the form of almost impassable roads to Maputo.

"In Maputo we booked in at the only hotel still operating. Mozambican money was refused. We were forced to pay with South African rands," he said.

Mr Nortje said during the stay he and a companion had searched for a belt, but could find only one shop open in the main road of Maputo. In it were three baby's dresses, nothing else.

Negotiations with the motor industry came to a halt after he was told by a transport company that the industry was run by the government and that the government was refusing to pay for goods and services.

The transport company concerned had written off R700 000 because of the inability of the Mozambican government to pay its debts.

Representatives of the prawn industry had no hope of establishing contracts because of a total lack of stock.

"When we came back to South Africa we were offered R18 for the equivalent of R30 in Mozambican money," Mr Nortje said.

He said the Mozambican infra-structure had been destroyed during Frelimo rule and that South African businessmen would have to go to Mozambique to conduct business due to a hopelessly unreliable telephone system.

### Allegation 'Harmful'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 p 15

[Text] SOUTH African businessmen wanting to trade with Mozambique — or any other African state - should do their homework properly before making any visits if they intend to capture markets, according to Ms Sally Gallagher, Africa area manager of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (SAFTO).

Ms Gallagher was commenting on allegations by a South African representative of an import-export concern who on the basis of a single visit to Mozambique recently concluded that trade with Maputo was "impossible".

Ms Gallagher said sweeping allegations of this kind were not only harmful, but failed to take cognisance of the facts.

Since independence from Portugal eight years ago South African trade with Mozambique had increased to levels well beyond those pertaining before independence.

"But South African businessmen simply cannot roll up unprepared and expect in the course of a single visit to sew up deals," she said.

The establishment of future markets for

South African businessmen would require commitment, research and patience.

Local businessmen would have to be prepared, for instance, to commit themselves to projects in Mozambique to generate foreign exchange needed to pay for goods because of the dire shortage of foreign exchange suffered by the country.

"Those interested in trading with Mozambique will have to be prepared to make a long-term commitment," she said.

Dealing with some of the specific allegations made by businessman, Mr Coetzee Nortje, Ms Gallagher, who has been a regular visitor to

Maputo since independence and involved in setting up many deals, said many of the allegations pointed to a lack of knowledge of local conditions in Mozambique and a lack of prior research.

For instance, Mr Nortje had made a statement that he had been informed that there were no stocks of prawns available for export to South Africa.

The prawn industry in Mozambique was a strategic industry and "surely Mr Nortje did not expect that he would be given information on it".

"I am sure he would not expect as a foreigner to get information on a strategic industry in South Africa in the course of a single visit," she said.

CSO: 3400/1084

SOUTH AFRICA

STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF WALVIS BAY NOTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 3-4 Jun 84 p 6

[Article by Michel Bole-Richard: "In Walvis Bay, go to see the Flamingos!"]

[Text] The beachhead of the South African government in a territory, Namibia, that will one day be independent, Walvis Bay, an industrial port, is in a slow decline, the victim of the economic stagnation. This sad city, which lives on its past, may in the future, however, enjoy a new boom. That at least is what is promised for it by the nearby flight of the flamingos.

Walvis Bay--The name alone is the stuff of dreams. The bay of the whales, they call this port at the end of the world, lost at the tip of the Namibian desert, on the Atlantic coast. An island of life in the midst of sand, rock and sun. One last refuge upon emerging from that arid universe? Not really, but exactly the same thing. On the horizon of an extensive stony expanse of thornbushes, a field for ostrich racing, a flat, monotonous, sad city, a town of nearly 20,000 inhabitants, lacking charm, revolving entirely around its port, the major deep-water port on the southwest coast of Africa. A succession of wharves, cranes and warehouses into which run the calm streets where the persistent odor of the sea meanders.

In the last century this was the last rest stop for whalers before the Cape, on the continent's point, and this 969-square-km territory was annexed on 12 March 1878 by the British, shortly before the Germans seized the remainder of Namibia, also called Southwest Africa. Re-attached to the South African Union when it was formed in 1910, Walvis Bay has been administered directly from the capital, Windhoek, since South Africa received the former German colony in 1920 under a mandate from the League of Nations. This continued until 1 September 1977, the date on which the Pretoria government decided to place Walvis Bay directly under its control by making it part of the Cape province. An annexation that was called illegal by the United Nations and the direct consequence of which was the introduction of apartheid into this "Gibraltar of Africa."

The whole region's natural outlet to the sea, a country's economic lung, Walvis Bay is a valuable asset for the future of an independent Namibia. This unilateral measure provoked a protest among the separatist movements, especially the

SWAPO, which is demanding that this enclave be reintegrated into the mother-land. Four hundred km farther south lies the little port of Luderitz, but this port, which was built on rock, does not have the same infrastructure and does not offer the same possibilities. Besides, a railroad connects Windhoek with Walvis Bay and thus facilitates the exportation of uranium ore from the large extraction center at Rossing, about 80 km away.

Forty percent of Namibia's exports and imports are shipped through this "port of the Southwest." In the future it could constitute an outlet for the landlocked black states of Botswana and Zambia. An industrial port, but also a fishing port, Walvis Bay has long been a flourishing center, situated close to the coast, very abundantly filled with fish bathed by the Benguela current. Exploitation which since the end of the 1970s has been considerably reduced because of the waste practiced essentially by fleets from the Eastern countries, which decimated the banks of pilchards and anchovies. Half of the 100 trawlers are now in dry dock. Plants have closed their doors. A can factory has been transplanted to Chile. In all, Walvis Bay lost almost 5,000 jobs in 7 years. The population was reduced by one third between 1976 and 1980 and the economic crisis hardly favors a revival.

#### A Strategic Place

Despite this decline, a few canneries are still operating, using black and meti [colored] manpower, who go back home each night to the townships of Narraville and Kuisebmond, where two thirds of the population are assembled. Two gettos are set down on the sand on the outskirts of the city. A succession of small low houses lined up in a row along the rutted alleys. Every morning, the workers go on foot to the factories from which rises the strong odor of brine and crushed fish. One has to leave Walvis Bay and its unattractive streets to discover, a little farther to the south, Pelican Point, a long sandbank, the territory of an extraordinary species of wildlife.

Hardly bothered by the comings and goings of trucks to and from the salt marshes, colonies of sea birds, pelicans and flamingos look for sustenance beneath the mud of the seashore. An amazing spectacle, this multitude of waders with long disjointed legs, moving at a tranquil pace, their beaks just above the water, to uncover stray fish, while the pelicans right alongside meditate over who knows what chant. Unless it is quite simply over the serenity of these privileged places, outside of time and history. However, a few cable lengths from these hospitable banks, right in the middle of the desert, stands the imposing Rooikop military base, along the edge of the Namibian park. A training center for South African soldiers charged with fighting the SWAPO underground, Rooikop has been considerably developed in recent years, to become a strategic place that makes it possible to control the Namibian territory that has been lacking in independence for 64 years now. Endowed with an airport and equipment for initiating the boys into bush warfare, Rooikop is an ideal base for intervention in the region and also allows surveillance of the African coast.

The Walvis Bay enclave, the mini Hong Kong of these southern lands, the eye of South Africa in a future independent Namibia, will undoubtedly never be abandoned by Pretoria because of its economic importance and its strategic interest. A mere pin on the map of this territory as large as France and Italy combined, but one that stimulates the separatist craving. Swakopmund, 35 km to the north,

will remain Namibian. But that charming tourist town, a vacation resort, has little to offer in the way of monetary interest to the Namibian treasury. This seaside resort nevertheless is worth a detour.

The transposition to the milieu of this African region of a large German village with its walled villas and its style that is typically a legacy of Prussian architecture, is surprising, to say the least. An anachronism that is scarcely to be found in Walvis Bay, where some 5,700 whites, however, are very much the descendants of those diamond hunters who came to make their fortunes in the last century in this region so abounding in minerals.

8946  
CSO: 3419/705

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

**ASBESTOS LEVELS**--The recommended acceptable level of blue asbestos concentrations in South African factories--which is informal and therefore unenforceable--is 10 times higher than the strictly-enforced, legal control limits imposed in Britain, according to Dr J Myers of the Industrial Health Research Group at the University of Cape Town. Dr Myers was responding to a letter in the CAPE TOWN on Friday from the managing director of Everite, Mr E L Arni, who said the South African level of two fibres per millilitre was the same as the legal limit in the United States. The legal limit in Britain is 0,2 fibres per millilitre and the limit in the US is a statutory, strictly-enforced control. "So comparing permissible levels of exposure in South Africa and the US by quoting figures is not very meaningful or credible," Dr Myers said. Dr Myers said the reason for the increasingly low limits for asbestos concentrations set in other countries was that "people exposed only transiently to cancer-causing blue asbestos have been known to contract fatal mesothelioma (cancer of the lining of the lung) years later". [Text] [Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 28 May 84 p 2]

**FARM, INDUSTRY RESEARCH**--South Africa, Canada and France have signed research and development agreements with Israel and discussions are in progress with the governments of Italy, Chile and Venezuela. The South Africa and Israel industrial and agricultural R & D agreement went into effect in April. Negotiations officially started last year in Israel with a SA commission headed by the deputy director-general of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Tourism, Mr CF Scheepers. The agreement is for three years, with both governments contributing about R1,3 million a year. The governments will share equally the projects' expenses and profits. A 150 percent return is expected from successful companies. The Israeli programme manager is Mr Shmuel Ofri from the office of the Chief Scientist at the Ministry of Industry and Trade. Mr Andries de Waal, general manager of Saidcor, a government-owned company, will represent South Africa. Interested parties will submit joint applications and [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 May 84 p 16M]

**NELSPRUIT BUDGET**--Nelspruit's record R33,1 million budget, with an estimated R20 948 deficit, provides for general tariff increases--but assessment rates will not change. Tabling his 24th consecutive budget, management committee chairman Mr Nic van Zyl, said: "Nelspruit is one of the most beautiful towns in South Africa--if not in the world--and we hope to keep it that way. "But

like everything it costs money and we have no alternative but to increase tariffs." Services which would cost more are refuse removal (10 percent), electricity (13 percent), water (16 percent) and sewerage (five percent), he said. To relieve the pressure on existing property owners paying for upgrading of the electricity system, R500 would be payable on future land sales. The town's rapid growth had outstripped the municipal water purification plant system and large amounts of money would have to be spent enlarging it, said Mr van Zyl. An amount of R4,5 million had been earmarked for this purpose in the budget. Mr van Zyl announced that work on phase one of the town's R10 million civic centre would probably start during the next 12 months. The Lowveld Botanical Garden will receive R20 000 towards the construction of a better road. An indication of Nelspruit's tremendous growth was reflected in a table showing that R41,5 million worth of building plans were approved during the last financial year. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 May 84 p 3M]

MERHOLD EXPANSION--Merhold and its operating subsidiary, Merchant Shippers, have announced the acquisition of certain of the African trading operations and properties of Raphaely International. This is likely to add more than R23m to Merchant Shippers' turnover in the first year of operation and is expected to enhance profits. Mr Christopher Seabrooke, managing director of Merchant Shippers, says the purchase reflects a policy of expanding from a traditional trade finance base into related activities. The deal involves offices and properties in Central Africa. Mr Seabrooke says that all business is currency covered to minimise risk areas. The new operation will trade under a number of established names. The lead company will be Mership International Trading, owned 76% by Merhold, and 24% by management. [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 5 Jun 84 p 20]

WESTBURY HOUSING--The Johannesburg City Council this week approved a R25 323 540 plan for 1 058 housing units in Westbury Extension 3. The layout of the coloured township will similar to Cape Town's Mitchell's Plain. To achieve maximum density stand sizes will be reduced to 150 square metres. Seven types have been designed for various income groups and include 386 sub-economic two-bedroomed units and 672 two and three bedroomed economic units. Rentals for the sub-economic units will range from R52 to R179 and for the economic units from R278,55 to R334,95. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 31 May 84 p 5]

STUDENTS' RELEASE SOUGHT--Umtata.--Applications have been submitted in the Umtata Supreme Court for the release from Security police detention of two students of the University of Transkei on the grounds that Transkei's state of emergency regulations under which they are being held are null and void. The two students, Mr Sakhele Buhlungu and Mr Sisa Tabata, were among four detained at the start of a boycott of lectures by Unitra students on May 9. They were later released and detained again on May 15.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 6 Jun 84 p 12]

KHAYELITSHA HOUSING--Work would start shortly on the building of 5 000 core houses at Khayelitsha and the entire project would take eight months to complete,

the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said yesterday. Replying to questions by Mr Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens), Dr Koornhof said it was impossible to say when the first people would be able to move into Khayelitsha. However, building of the 5 000 core houses and ancillary services would start shortly, and the first phase of construction would be completed as soon as possible. "It is expected from the successful tenders to complete the entire project within 32 weeks," Dr Koornhof said. He added that the earthworks at Khayelitsha were making good progress, and the Small Businesses Development Corporation was taking steps to provide the necessary business facilities in the area. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 p 4]

TRANSKEI RAILWAY LINKS--Umtata.--Transkei was negotiating with South Africa railway project to link Umtata, Kokstad and Qamata, the Transkei Minister of Transport, Mr Jonas Armstrong, said yesterday. Other projects Transkei had in mind were the K D Matanzima International Airport at Umtata and an international harbour at Mngazana on the wild coast. Mr Armstrong also announced Transkei Airways had completely taken over the Johannesburg-Umtata service from South African Airways which relinquished it.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 p 10]

BOP ELECTIONS--Mmabathao.--Bophuthatswana's first Presidential Elections will take place on November 6, it was announced in Parliament yesterday. The Minister of Internal Affairs, the Rev S M Seodi, said registration of candidates opened yesterday and would close on September 5.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 9 Jun 84 p 11]

CROSSROADS RESIDENTS--More than 12 000 Crossroads residents have signed a declaration that they will not be moved to Khayelitsha. The publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Jonathan de Vries, said yesterday that after a UDF pamphlet "blitz" on the squatter camp on Thursday morning, 12 500 residents added their names to the UDF "million signature" campaign. At the same time they had signed a statement declaring they would not move to the new township. Mr de Vries said the 500 UDF volunteers who spent the morning going from door to door handing out pamphlets covered only about half the area and would go back within a fortnight to hand out more pamphlets and collect more signatures. The UDF pamphlet outlined difficulties and hardships that a move to Khayelitsha would entail. Khayelitsha would only be for those who had permission to be in the Western Cape and consequently thousands of the people living at Crossroads would be moved to the homelands, where there would be no food and no jobs, it said.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 5 Jun 84 p 2]

INDIANS JOIN LABOR PARTY--Two South African Indian Council members have joined the coloured Labour Party in the face of warnings by Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, that such action was in contravention of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act. Germiston SAIC member Ahmed Lambat and Aboo Akoob of Bakerton, after confirming they had become card-carrying members of the Labour Party, said they were prepared to face prosecution for breaking the law. A third Indian, President Council member Salaam Abraham-Mayet, has also joined Rev Alan Hendrickse's party. Minister de Klerk has warned that

the Act prohibits members of one race group belonging to a party of another race group and the Government had no intention of changing this section of the Act. He said the new constitution was "indivisibly linked" to the principle that each population group must exercise its participation in the democratic election process within a group context. "Any other approach will be incompatible with the framework of the principles of the constitution". A Labour Party delegation was due to meet Minister de Klerk and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Planning, in Cape Town yesterday (Tuesday) to discuss the ban placed on Indians joining the Labour Party and also reaffirming its call for the scrapping of the Prohibition of the Political Interference Act. [Text] [Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Jun 84 p 1]

VOTER REGISTRATION FIGURES--The Natal Indian Congress has described as "utterly farcical" the announcement by the Department of Internal Affairs that more than 100 percent of potential Indian voters are likely to be registered for the August elections of members of the House of Delegates. The situation arose because the department took the potential number of voters from the number of people on the population register which is believed to be outdated. The numbers of voters passed the magic 100 percent in a final flood of registrations on May 30. NIC vice-president Moorogiah M J Naidoo said it was an utterly farcical situation when more than 100 percent have registered as voters when according to the most recent census figures, over 100 000 people have not registered. "It only goes to show how figures can be manipulated to create an entirely false and deceptive impression. We can now brace ourselves for a computer printout of a very high percentage poll when voting takes place on August 28," Mr Naidoo said. "The overwhelming majority that will reject the constitution and boycott the elections will be turned into a small percentage to give the opportunists participating in the system credibility they would not be able to buy otherwise. "What a wonderful thing a computer can be in the right hands," he said. [Text] [Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Jun 84 p 1]

SAIC MEMBERS--South African Indian Council members may be disqualified from taking part in the August 28 election if the Government-created body is not dissolved by July 23. This was revealed yesterday as the SAIC executive prepared to fly out to Cape Town to meet Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and Minister of Internal Affairs Mr F W de Klerk to discuss the phasing out of the Council. The Government had set July 23 as nomination day for those wanting to stand for election for the House of Delegates (Indian) and House of Representatives (coloured). The final sitting of the SAIC takes place between July 9 and 11--less than two weeks before aspiring candidates have to declare their intention to stand for the tricameral parliament. Exco chairman, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, confirmed yesterday that SAIC members would be disqualified from taking part in the August 28 election if the SAIC was not dissolved by July 23. "This is why my executive committee has arranged a meeting with Ministers Heunis and De Klerk for today (Wednesday) when this issue will be discussed in full. "I am confident the two Ministers will put the necessary machinery in motion to see to it that the SAIC is phased out in time--at least before nomination day," he said. [Text] [Durban POST NATAL in English 6-9 Jun 84 p 1]

CSO: 3400/1085

LONG RUN POSSIBILITY OF COUP SUGGESTED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 11, 23 May 84 pp 7-8

[Article: "Zaire: Unrest at the Top"]

[Text] Power struggles within the ruling élite have prompted fears that various individuals and groups are laying the foundations for an eventual coup. In the short-term President **Mobutu Sese Seko** is secure. But his ability to organise and dominate the different strands of the political-commercial oligarchy has declined, for a number of reasons:-

- The death in 1982 of his uncle, **Litho Mobotí** (AC Vol 23 No 6), caused the break-up of the small, overwhelmingly powerful and relatively stable group of confidants with which he did business and sought counsel from. The partial demise of this group led to a rise in influence of Litho's former "competitors", many of whom are Mulatto, and a more open and less controllable schism between the black élite (closer to Mobutu) and the Mulattoes.
- Mobutu's health appears to have deteriorated markedly during the past two years. We understand that he suffers from blood/circulation deficiencies. (Medical treatment he undergoes periodically in Switzerland reportedly entails blood transfusion).
- Probably as a result of the above two points he has further detached himself from everyday politics and intrigue, and therefore is less sensitive to domestic political developments. He might well also be less interested. He appears to keep close touch only with **Moleka Liboko**, a nephew and businessman.
- The Israeli-training of the presidential guard has resulted in a militarily effective unit which could play an important part in the balance of political power. The guard's present commander, Col. **Nzimbi**, while considered sympathetic to the anti-Mulatto group, is expected to become more independent of Mobutu.

The disquiet over the possible consequences of the intense competition within the élite - essentially between the Mulatto group and the inheritors of the Litho group - appears to be most strongly voiced in the middle-to-senior ranks of the armed forces. There are also indications that leading members of the Bangala tribe (from Equateur region), which during Mobutu's time has been especially favoured, are worried that their superior status is slipping.

We understand that the above section of the armed forces has named three groups of particular relevance:-

- 1) The present armed forces high command, including Admiral **Disamira Loponda** (from Kisangani region), secretary for defence; Gen. **Somao**, commander of the armoured division based at Mbanza Ngungu (for which French assistance is planned); Gen. **Yeka**, Commander of the national gendarmerie; Gen. **Eluki**, former longstanding commander of the Shaba military region, now chief of army staff in Kinshasa; and retired generals **Babia**, **Bumba** and **Molongia**. Apart from Loponda, Babia and Molongia, the above are all from Equateur region.
- 2) The black group, formerly led by **Litho**, now led by **Vundwawe Tepemako**, the former interior minister dismissed by Mobutu in 1982; **Mokolo**, director of state security; **Nkema**, former director of security, now ambassador to the UN; **Nzandabuana**, former minister of youth; **Inonga**, former ambassador to Belgium; **Kamanda Wa Kamanda**, former minister of foreign affairs; Col. **Nzimbi** of the presidential guard; **Sambwa Pide**, governor of the central bank; and Mobutu's son, **Mobutu Niwa**, now secretary of state for foreign affairs.
- 3) The Mulatto group, composed primarily of **Kengo Wa Dondo**, prime minister; **Seli Yale**, special adviser to the president and **Bemba**, a powerful businessman who is also president of the National Association of Zairean Enterprise. Air Commodore **Kikunda**, head of the airforce, and **Geyoro** managing director of *Air Zaire*, are reportedly strong supporters.

At present the Mulatto group has the most influence and money. Its apparent efforts to seek support among senior armed forces officers is greatly resented by the middle-to-senior group of officers from Equateur. They point out that the military could seize power, ban Mobutu's *Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution* and ask technocrats to run the economy - at the expense of a bloody power-struggle within the armed forces. Alternatively it is suggested that those successfully courted by the Mulatto group could seize power and then hand over government to the Mulatto group.

At this stage it is hard to point more precisely to the demarcations of the power-struggle. Certainly there is a lot of resentment against the Mulattos. There is also much disinformation, aimed probably at destabilising the regime. In a forthcoming issue we will attempt to analyse the situation more fully ●

CSO: 3400/1063

END